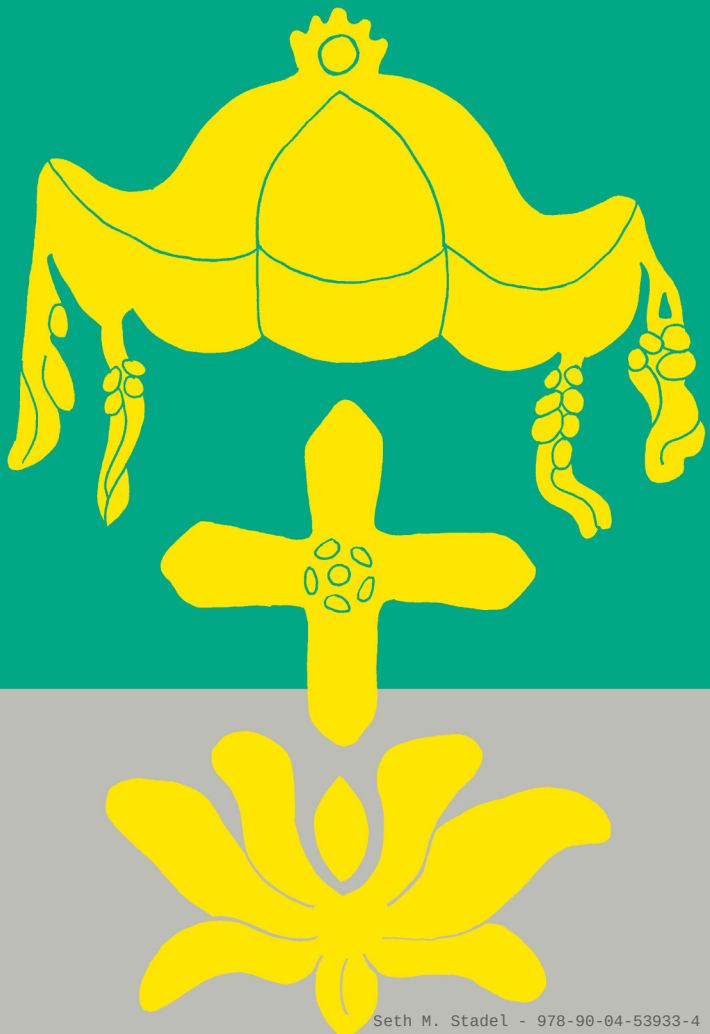
Seth M. Stadel

The Heirs of Theodore

Aḥob of Qatar and the Development of the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition



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The Heirs of Theodore

Aḥob of Qatar and the Development of the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition

By

Seth M. Stadel

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Sigla, Abbreviations, and Conventions

The sigla for the Syriac manuscripts and editions of texts used in this study are listed in Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

Text

|	folio break (ms. reference presented in margin)
⌜ ⌝	unit of variation of two or more words
⌜⌜ ⌝⌝	alternative unit of variation
[ ]	letters which are presently illegible
◌̈	equals East Syriac abbreviation marker: ܚ̈ܕ̈ܐ
◌ٖ	equals East Syriac *mhagyānā*—marker of a *shwa* [*ə*]: ܒ̈ܝ̈ܓ̈ܝ̈ܥ̈ܢ̈ܐ
◌ٖ	equals East Syriac *mbaṭlānā*—indicator of a silent letter: ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ܐ
…	ellipsis of text

Apparatus

A^{mg}	reading in margin
A^{*}	indicates original reading
A^{1}	indicates a reading corrected by the scribe of the manuscript
A^{C}	indicates a reading corrected by a later scribe

Abbreviations for Text Editions and Analysis

+	plus
add	additus/ta
c.	cum
ca.	about, approximately
cf.	confer
col.	column
cols.	columns
cont.	continued
cs	common singular
d.	died

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dit	per dittographiam
ed.	editor / edition
eds.	editors
err	error
esp.	especially
explic	explicit (here ends)
f	feminine
f.	folio
ff.	folios
fl.	flourished
homarc	per homoearcton
imp.	impression
incip	incipit (here begins)
init	initialis
lac	lacuna
leg.	lege (read!)
l.n.	legi nequit / nequeunt (cannot read)
lit.	literally
m	masculine
ms.	manuscript
mss	manuscripts
mg	in margine
n.	footnote
om	omittit/unt
p	plural
p.	page (of another publication)
pp.	pages (of another publication)
pr	prefaces / inserts before
r	recto
r.	reigned
rev.	revised
s	singular
s.	sine
sey	*seyame* (plural marker)
tr	transposuit/erunt
trans.	translation
v	verso
v.	verse
vv.	verses

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Conventions

Unless otherwise stated, all citations of the Peshitta version of the Old Testament are taken from *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version*, 18 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1966–2019). All citations of the Peshitta New Testament are taken from George Henry Gwilliam and J. Pinkerton (eds.), *The New Testament in Syriac* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1905–1920) and Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel (eds.), *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 4 vols. (Berlin / New York, 1986–2002).

With the exception of text analysis, all translated phrases originating from the Peshitta have been italicized, and added words are placed within parentheses. Unless otherwise indicated, all biblical citations are also taken from the Peshitta.

All citations of the Masoretic Text (MT) are taken from K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, et al. (eds.) *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 5th rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997), and all citations of the Septuagint (LXX) are taken from John William Wevers (ed.), *Genesis* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974); A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Psalmi cum Odis* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931); Joseph Ziegler (ed.), *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 16.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952); Robert Hanhart (ed.), *Iudith* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 8.4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

The abbreviations for the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, Old and New Testament books, and Deuterocanonical books are found in Siegfried M. Schwertner, *IATG³ – Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete: Zeitschriften, Serien, Lexika, Quellenwerke mit bibliographischen Angaben* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014). Other abbreviations, which are specific to this study, include the following: *AC* = *Anonymous Commentary*, *DGC* = *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, and OTP = Peshitta Old Testament.

With a few exceptions, the works of Aḥob and the subsequent East Syriac exegetical tradition are presented in Estrangela script, rather than in East Syriac script.

Shortened footnote references of Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (CSCO) volumes will be cited as follows: author's last name, shortened title (text) or (trans.), page number(s). Shortened footnote references of CSCO editions or translations that span two volumes will be cited as follows: author's last name, shortened title (vol. 1) or (vol. 2), page number(s).

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Unless otherwise stated, all footnoted line numbers (with respect to text editions) refer to the original language of the text edition, not its translation.

Modern members of Aḥob's church now refer to their church as the "Church of the East" and to themselves as "Assyrians." In this study the shorthand "East Syriac" will be used as a simple linguistic label to reference their ancient literature and liturgy. The exception to this approach will be in the discussion of 4th to 7th-century Synods, in a few direct quotations—wherein comparable phraseology, such as "East Syrian," is employed, and in the titles of various published works.

The epithet "Qaṭraya," in the name Aḥob Qaṭraya, will be largely presented as "of Qatar," which is the Anglicized rendering of this name.

Common names and places will be given in their Latinized form. Rarer names and places will be transliterated.

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Introduction

This study will examine the surviving biographical data and Old Testament exegetical works of Aḥob of Qatar (also known as Aḥob Qaṭraya), an East Syriac exegete. It will also analyze the influence of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works on the East Syriac exegetical tradition. This is the first detailed study of both Aḥob and his Old Testament exegetical works.

The three sections of this introduction present the exegetical, scholastic, and theological contexts in which Aḥob and his Old Testament exegetical works will be assessed in the following chapters. Since Aḥob's date is disputed and will not be established until Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3., his placement within these various contexts will not be discussed. This introduction will conclude with an overview of the chapters in this study.

1 The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition

The East Syriac exegetical tradition is part of the broader Antiochene tradition (or "School of Antioch")[1] and refers to varying forms of biblical interpretation, which were largely produced in Classical Syriac, the Edessene dialect of Aramaic.[2] It is comprised of a number of writers and manuscript traditions, which

1 For an introduction to the Antiochene tradition, its main Greek representatives, and its exegetical approach, see Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis and the Origins of the Antiochene School," in Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 125–142; Sten Hidal, "Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Antiochene School with its Prevalent Literal and Historical Method," in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Interpretation. Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300), Part 1: Antiquity* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 543–568; Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 165–299; Robert C. Hill, *Reading the Old Testament in Antioch* (Bible in Ancient Christianity 5; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

2 One example of an important writer who relied on the East Syriac exegetical tradition but wrote in Arabic is Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-ʿIrāqī (d. 1043). Only portions of his exegetical works have been edited. See Yusuf Manqariyus (ed.), *Ibn al-Ṭayyib: Kitāb al-Mashriqī*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1908–1910); J. C. J. Sanders (ed.), *Ibn aṭ-Ṭaiyib: Commentaire sur la Genèse* (CSCO 274–275, Arab. 24–25; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1967); Ayoub Chahwan, "Le commentaire de Psaumes 33–60 d'Ibn aṭ-Tayib reflet de l'exégèse syriaque orientale" (Th.D. dissertation, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997); Julian Faultless, "The Prologue to John in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Commentary on the Gospels" (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2001).

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emerged in the fifth century and continues to the present,[3] though only a few new works have been produced since the fifteenth century.[4] Furthermore, one of the principal identifiers of the East Syriac exegetical tradition (in step with the broader Antiochene tradition) is a historical (i.e. literal) interpretation of the biblical text, though later East Syriac exegetical writers began to use typological and/or allegorical exegesis in their writings as well.[5] The following is a survey of the primary writers and manuscript traditions in the East Syriac exegetical tradition (as discussed in this study) in rough chronological order.[6] Published editions and translations will also be mentioned:[7]

– Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600)
– The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century)
– Theodore bar Koni (fl. end of the 8th century)
– The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?)

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3 Lucas Van Rompay, "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation," in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Interpretation. Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages* (*Until 1300*). *Part 1: Antiquity* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 635–636 and idem, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation. Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages* (*Until 1300*). *Part 2: The Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 572, 577.

4 For a brief list of publications discussing Neo-Aramaic and the use of Classical Syriac in the modern era, see Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 577, n. 45.

5 For a further discussion, see Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

6 There are several notable East Syriac writers (who produced exegetical works) and manuscript traditions that will not be discussed in detail in the following chapters, since they do not transmit any of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. These include Narsai (399–502), Ḥenana of Adiabene (d. ca. 610), Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze (first half of the 7th century), Aba II of Kashkar (d. 751), Isho' bar Nun (d. 828), Eliya of al-Anbār (first half of the 10th century), Emmanuel bar Shahhare (d. 980), the *Gannat Bussāme* ("Garden of Delights"; between the 10th and beginning of the 13th century), and Solomon of Baṣra (fl. 1222). For an overview of these writers and manuscript traditions, see Sebastian Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," *ARAM* 11:1 (1999): 89–92 and Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Exegesis, Old Testament," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 157–159.

7 Taeke Jansma and Lucas Van Rompay have previously listed several of these writers and manuscript traditions in various publications. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis: An Approach to the Exegesis of the Nestorian Church and to the Comparison of Nestorian and Jewish Exegesis," in P. A. H. de Boer (ed.), *Studies on the Book of Genesis* (OTS 12; Leiden: Brill, 1958), 74–79; Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 564–572; idem, "Between the School and the Monk's Cell: The Syriac Old Testament Commentary Tradition," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy. Papers Read at the Third Peshitta Symposium* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 15; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2006), 50–51.

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– Isho'dad of Merv (fl. ca. 850)
– The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century)
– Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th century-early 20th century)[8]
– Isaac Shbadnaya (fl. 1439/1440)

Nathniel of Shirzor's[9] singular exegetical work is a *Commentary on Psalms*.[10] However, the only part that is extant is his *Cause of the Psalms of the blessed David*,[11] which is an introductory treatise to this commentary. Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* is prefixed, with other documents, to the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* in five late 19th-century manuscripts.[12] Bernhard Vandenhoff edited this treatise (with a Latin translation), based on a single (otherwise unknown) Alqosh manuscript.[13] Seth M. Stadel produced an annotated edition of this treatise (with an English translation and introduction), based on all known, accessible manuscripts.[14]

The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* is the earliest extant manuscript tradition in the East Syriac exegetical tradition. It has been dated to the first half of the 8th century[15] and is preserved in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 (11th–12th century).[16] It was utilized as a replacement for the same section (which had been lost) in the larger work, the *Anonymous Commentary*,[17] which is also con-

8 While Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* is not primarily an exegetical work, it is a tool related to exegesis and would have been used by East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions.

9 For a brief discussion of Nathniel's life, see Lucas Van Rompay, "Nathniel of Sirzor," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 304.

10 It is also possible that Nathniel produced a commentary (or scholia) on Exodus. See Seth M. Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms: Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*" *Le Muséon* 135:1–2 (2022): 96.

11 Hereafter shortened to *Cause of the Psalms*.

12 These manuscripts include the Vandenhoff Exemplar (1891), British Library, Or. 9354 (1895), Mingana Syr. 58 (1895), Strasbourg, Syr. 4121 (1898), and Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318 (1890s).

13 Bernhard Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum imprimis messianicorum apud Syros Nestorianos e codice adhuc inedito illustrata* (Rheine: J. Altmeppen, 1899), 13, *1*–15, *19* (Syriac), 3, 24–26 (Latin). This edition is referred to as the Vandenhoff Exemplar.

14 Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms," 93–110.

15 Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32 du manuscript* (*olim*) *Diyarbakir 22* (CSCO 484, Syr. 206; Louvain: Peeters, 1986), lii–liii.

16 Addai Scher suggested that this manuscript was produced in the 14th century. William F. Macomber critiqued this view and placed it in the 11th–12th centuries. The nature of this manuscript (i.e. whether it was produced by one hand, a school, or over a lengthy period of time) has yet to be resolved. See William F. Macomber, "Newly Discovered Fragments of the Gospel Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia," *Le Muséon* 81 (1968): 443, n. 11 and Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xii.

17 Lucas Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary on Genesis and Exodus

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tained in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22. While in its current state the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* only extends from Gen 1:1 to Exod 9:32, it was likely much longer in its originality, though it cannot be determined to what extent. The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* was edited and translated into French by Lucas Van Rompay.[18]

Theodore bar Koni's lone exegetical work, the *Scholion*, is all that remains of his corpus of writings.[19] It consists of eleven *memre* that discuss East Syriac theology, largely in the form of questions and answers.[20] The *Scholion* is preserved in two recensions: the Seert and Urmiah, with the Seert likely being the older of the two.[21] Both recensions have been edited and translated into French.[22]

The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* is a Psalms commentary, whose production is credited to Denḥa, the teacher and Grigor, the monk of Gamre.[23] The manuscript tradition of this Psalms commentary has been surveyed by Willem Bloemendaal, with later revisions suggested by Van Rompay and Bas ter Haar

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1–9, 32 in the Syriac Manuscript (olim) Dijarbekr 22," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 5 (1974): 54 and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), v–vii, xii, xlii–xliii, 95–96, 166–167. Jansma mistakenly claims Diyarbakir 22 ends with Exod 5. See idem, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 72.

18 Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32 du manuscript* (*olim*) *Diyarbakir 22* (CSCO 483, Syr. 205; Louvain: Peeters, 1986) and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.).

19 For a brief discussion of Bar Koni's life and non-exegetical works, see Aaron M. Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 405.

20 Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405–406.

21 Ibid., 405.

22 Addai Scher (ed.), *Theodorus bar Kōnī: Liber scholiorum* (CSCO 55, 69, Syr. 19, 26; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1910, 1912); Robert Hespel and René Draguet (trans.), *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des Scolies* (*recension de Séert*) (CSCO 431–432, Syr. 187–188; Louvain: Peeters, 1981–1982); Robert Hespel (ed.), *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des Scolies* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (CSCO 447–448, Syr. 193–194; Louvain: Peeters, 1983). There are also collections of excerpts annexed to the Urmiah recension, attributed to Sylvain of Qardu (ca. 8th/9th century), which largely overlap with Bar Koni's *Scholion*. These were edited (with a French translation) by Hespel. See idem (ed.), *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des Scolies* (*recension d'Urmiah*)*: Les collections annexes par Sylvain de Qardu* (CSCO 464–465, Syr. 197–198; Louvain: Peeters, 1984).

23 This Denḥa has been identified as a disciple of Ishoʿ bar Nun, which would situate him in the first half of the 9th century. Grigor is otherwise unknown, outside of his connection to the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*. See Stephen D. Ryan, "Denḥa," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 118. For an edition of the introduction to the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, see Appendix, Introduction.

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Romeny.[24] While many of the manuscripts containing this Psalms commentary are unfortunately inaccessible[25] or destroyed,[26] several *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* manuscripts are accessible.[27] Vandenhoff edited parts of this Psalms commentary (with a Latin translation) from a single (otherwise unknown) Alqosh manuscript, and Clemens Leonhard translated the introduction and select verses from ms. Mingana Syr. 58 (1895) into English for a study of Ps 119, 139–147.[28] An edition of the introduction and select parts of thirteen psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (based on five late 19th-century manuscripts) are presented in the Appendix of this study; an English translation of the latter is presented in Chapter 3 of this study.[29]

Isho'dad of Merv's[30] commentaries on the Old and New Testament constitute "one of the most expansive forms of the East-Syrian exegetical tradition,"[31]

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24 W. Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 16; Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Théodore de Mopsueste: Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaumes* (*Psaume 118 et Psaumes 138–148*) (CSCO 436, Syr. 190; Louvain: Peeters, 1982), ix–xiv; Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar: Ahob of Qatar," in Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Saif Shaheen Al-Murikhi, and Haya Al Thani (eds.), *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 38; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 144–150.

25 These manuscripts include Alqosh 35 (*olim* 28) (1710/1893), Mosul 20 (1875), Alqosh 36 (*olim* 20) (1884), Alqosh *olim* 21 (1893), and the ms. of Octčanes (date unknown). See Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 145–146.

26 These manuscripts include Urmia 217 (1682/1683) and Urmia 151 (probably 1880–1890), which are reported destroyed in 1918. See William F. Macomber, "New Finds of Syriac Manuscripts in the Middle East," in Wolfgang Voigt (ed.), *XVII, Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21, bis 27, Juli 1968 in Würzburg: Vorträge, Teil 2* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement 1.2; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1969), 478.

27 These manuscripts include Paris, BnF Syr. 367 (*olim* Seert 29) (1252), Paris, BnF Syr. 351 (16th or 17th century), the Vandenhoff Exemplar, British Library, Or. 9354, Mingana Syr. 58, Strasbourg, Syr. 4121, and Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. At present, it remains unclear if Sachau 215 (1882) should be considered an early shorter version or a later condensed version of the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*.

28 Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 19, *5*–65, *20* (Syriac), 30–58 (Latin) and Clemens Leonhard, "Ps 119 and 139–147 in East-Syrian Commentaries: The Interdependence of the Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Īšō'dād of Merw and Denḥā (ms. Mingana 58): First Soundings," in Werner Arnold and Michael Jursa and Walter W. Müller and Stephan Procházka (eds.), *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra: Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 181–206.

29 An annotated edition and English translation of the earliest form of the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* are in preparation by Seth M. Stadel.

30 For a brief discussion of Isho'dad's life, see Lucas Van Rompay, "Isho'dad of Merv," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 216.

31 Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 569.

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both for its preservation of ninth-century exegesis and for the number of earlier sources (both stated and anonymized) that are utilized. His *Commentary on Genesis* was edited by Jacques Marie Vosté and Ceslas Van den Eynde with a French translation by the latter.[32] All other Isho'dad Old Testament commentaries were edited and translated into French by Van den Eynde,[33] and his New Testament commentaries were edited and translated into English by Margaret Dunlop Gibson.[34] More recently, Johan D. Hofstra and Thomas C. Schmidt have produced new editions of Isho'dad's *Commentary on John* and *Commentary on Daniel*, respectively, each with an English translation.[35]

The *Anonymous Commentary* is preserved in a number of manuscripts, some of which are significantly shorter in length than others.[36] In its longest form it spans the Old and New Testaments (except for 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah) and likely functioned as an abridged copy of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*.[37] Abraham Levene published the *Anonymous Commentary* of Gen 1–18, as preserved in ms. Mingana Syr. 553, with a facsimile of

32 Jacques Marie Vosté and Ceslas Van den Eynde (eds.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, I: Genèse* (CSCO 126, Syr. 67; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1950) and Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, I: Genèse* (CSCO 156, Syr. 75; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1955).

33 Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, II: Exode-Deutéronome* (CSCO 176, 179, Syr. 80–81; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1958); idem (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, III: Livres des Sessions* (CSCO 229–230, Syr. 96–97; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1962–1963); Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, IV: Isaïe et les Douze* (CSCO 303–304, Syr. 128–129; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1969); idem (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, V: Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (CSCO 328–329, Syr. 146–147; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972); Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, VI: Psaumes* (CSCO 433–434, Syr. 185–186; Louvain: Peeters, 1981).

34 Margaret Dunlop Gibson (ed.), *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, Bishop of Hadatha (c. 850A.D.), in Syriac and English* (Horae Semiticae 5–7, 10–11; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911, 1913, 1916).

35 Johan D. Hofstra (ed.), *Isho'dad of Merw: Commentary on the Gospel of John* (CSCO 671–672, Syr. 259–260; Leuven: Peeters, 2019) and T. C. Schmidt (ed.), *Isho'dad of Merv: Commentary on Daniel* (TeCLA 62; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2022).

36 There are a number of *Anonymous Commentary* manuscripts whose current location are unknown, inaccessible, or were destroyed in World War I. These include Seert 21 (1605), Seert 22 (17th century), Notre Dame des Semences 34 (*olim* 22) (1887), and Louvain, CSCO, Syr. 13 (1902). See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 72–73; Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary," 55; Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 139.

37 Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary," 59–62 and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xl–xliv.

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ff. 1v–18r and an English translation.[38] The *Anonymous Commentary on the Pentateuch*, which is dated to the 10th century, is currently being edited by Van Rompay.[39] The rest of the *Anonymous Commentary* (beyond the Pentateuch) remains unedited and little studied, and it is unclear if this portion of the *Anonymous Commentary* should also be dated to the 10th century or later.

Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* was initially written in the mid-10th century and expanded by various writers until the early 20th century.[40] It was the standard lexicon of its time, and it remains a primary source for technical (specifically medical) and unusual Classical Syriac and transliterated Greek words, all of which are described in Syriac and/or Arabic entries. Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* was edited by Rubens Duval with a Latin introduction.[41] More recently, Samuel Barry has translated Duval's Latin introduction into English.[42]

Isaac Shbadnaya[43] is the final major figure in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, because he is the last East Syriac writer to produce a large corpus of new material.[44] Among the works credited to him is the lengthy theological compendium entitled *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*, which discusses the history of salvation in roughly fifteen hundred lines and is structured in thirty separate sections (called *sedra*).[45] Shbadnaya

38 Abraham Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis from a Syriac Ms. on the Pentateuch in the Mingana Collection* (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951), 35–68 (Syriac), 71–98 (English).

39 Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Anonymous Commentary on the Pentateuch* (in preparation for CSCO).

40 Cf. Henri Hyvernat, "An Ancient Syriac Lexicographer," *The Catholic University Bulletin* 8 (1902): 58–74 and idem, "Duval's Edition of Bar-Bahlul," *The Catholic University Bulletin* 8 (1902): 483–493.

41 Rubens Duval (ed.), *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule: e pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit* (Collection orientale 15–17; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1888–1901).

42 Samuel Barry, "Duval's Introductions," in George Kiraz, Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *The Syriac and Arabic Lexicon of Hasan bar Bahlul: The Duval Edition*, vol. 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2020), xxxv–xcvi.

43 For a discussion of Shbadnaya's life and non-exegetical works, see Thomas Andrew Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries': Isḥaq Shbadnaya's Life and Works," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 14:2 (2011): 191–213.

44 Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 572, 577.

45 Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 194, 201–202 and idem, "The Future of the Past: The Reception of Syriac Qaṭraye Authors in Late Medieval Iraq" in Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Saif Shaheen Al-Murikhi, and Haya Al Thani (eds.), *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 38; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 171.

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describes his *Poem* by means of a prose commentary, which is preserved in nine accessible manuscripts[46] and is particularly important for its use of earlier East Syriac exegetical material. This prose commentary is also divided into the same thirty *sedra* as Shbadnaya's *Poem*. Though select parts of Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem* have been edited and/or translated into English (primarily by Thomas A. Carlson),[47] the work as a whole has yet to be edited or translated.

The above East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions use three forms of biblical interpretation: *memre*, theological treatises, and commentaries, though commentaries are the most common type. A defining aspect of East Syriac exegetical works in general is that they often use earlier Greek and Syriac works as the literary and theological core to which new material is added.[48] With the exception of Narsai's (399–502) extant *memre*,[49] all East Syriac exegetical works from the sixth and seventh century are either lost or preserved in fragmented form[50] in later East Syriac works.[51]

46 These manuscripts include Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1998 (1558), Harvard, Syr. 152 (17th century), Berlin Orient. fol. 1201 (Syriac 85) (1725), Oxford, Syr. c. 9 (1726), Catholic University of America Hyvernat Syr. 7 (1889), British Library, Or. 9358 (1895), Mingana Syr. 57 (1895), Oxford, Syr. c. 13 (1904), and Vat. Syr. 592 (1918). See Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 173–174. It should be noted that there is a tenth manuscript: Seert 121 (1800), the location of which is unknown.

47 See Erik ten Napel, "Some Remarks on the Quotations from Emmanuel bar Shahhare's Hexaemeron in Ishaq Šbadnaya's Prose-Commentary on the Divine Providence," *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989): 205–208; Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 210–211; idem, "Syriac Christology and Christian Community in the Fifteenth-Century Church of the East," in Herman G.B. Teule and Elif Keser-Kayaalp, and Kutlu Akalin and Nesim Doru and Mehmet Sait Toprak (eds.), *Syriac in Its Multi-Cultural Context: First International Syriac Studies Symposium, Mardin Artuklu University, Institute of Living Languages, 20–22 April 2012, Mardin* (Eastern Christian Studies 23; Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 268, 270–275; Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 176–190.

48 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 141–142.

49 For a further discussion, see Aaron M. Butts, Kristian S. Heal, and Sebastian P. Brock, *Clavis to the Metrical Homilies of Narsai* (CSCO 690, Subs. 142; Louvain: Peeters, 2021).

50 Corrie Molenberg, "The Silence of the Sources: The Sixth Century and East-Syrian 'Antiochene' Exegesis," in Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Byzantina Australiensia 10; Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996), 145.

51 See, for instance, Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), xv–xvi and idem, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), viii.

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2 Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis

The earliest known school or center of East Syriac exegesis was the School of Edessa (also known as the School of the Persians),[52] which likely began in the late fourth century.[53] By the mid-fifth century, it had transformed from an ethnic circle of "Persians" to a recognized institution,[54] alongside other Edessan schools.[55] With the exception of a "head," the School's specific hierarchical structure remains unknown, though Adam Becker has postulated that (if one did indeed exist) it may have resembled the three-tiered Greco-Roman educational system, which was comprised of a *ludi magister*, grammarian, and rhetorician.[56] In the School's early years, biblical exegesis was based on Ephrem's (d. 373) corpus of writings. However, once the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428)—who would become the Interpreter *par excellence* in the East Syriac exegetical tradition—were translated from Greek into Syriac and introduced into the School, they came to replace Ephrem's works.[57] This "combining of Greek theological learning with the indigenous Syriac theological tradition" became one of the School's greatest contributions to all subsequent schools and centers of East Syriac exegesis.[58] In 489, the emperor, Zeno (r. 474–475, 476–491), closed the School, and its members moved to the Persian city of Nisibis, where Narsai (the last head of the School of Edessa) and Bar-

52 According to Sebastian Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," in Habib Badr, Suad Abou el Rouss Slim, and Joseph Abou Nohra (eds.), *Christianity: A History in the Middle East* (Beirut: Middle East Council of Churches, 2005), 152, "The epithet 'Persian' was evidently given to the School owing to the many students from across the border, in the Sasanian Empire, which the School attracted …."

53 For a brief discussion of this date, see Adam H. Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis* (Translated Texts for Historians 50; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 6. For an earlier view, which situates the origins of this School in the first or second century, see Ernest R. Hayes, *L'école d'Édesse* (Paris: Presses Modernes, 1930), 39 and Han J. W. Drijvers, "The School of Edessa: Greek Learning and Local Culture," in Han J. W. Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-modern Europe and the Near East* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 61; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 49–59.

54 Adam H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 62–76.

55 Johannes Flemming (ed.), *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449: Syrisch* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, N.F. 15.1.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1917), 24, *23* (Syriac), 25 (German).

56 Becker, *Fear of God*, 71.

57 Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 150 and ibid., 73.

58 Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 154.

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ṣawma, the bishop of Nisibis (d. ca. 491–496) founded the School of Nisibis,[59] which would become the most influential school or center of East Syriac exegesis in the sixth century.[60]

There were four main offices in the School of Nisibis:

- a steward, who directed and oversaw the School's daily functions[61]
- an elementary instructor, who taught the alphabet and the vocalization of texts
- a reader, who taught reading, grammar, and the liturgy
- an exegete, who taught biblical exegesis, the liturgy, and headed the School.[62]

The exegete, and possibly the reader, also instructed students on the specifics of manuscript production, by means of physical exemplars and/or via oral lectures.[63]

The Syriac translations of Theodore's exegetical works were the primary means by which the Peshitta was interpreted in the School of Nisibis.[64] In the School's early years, these exegetical works were difficult for students to understand, because "they were complicated by the Greek and obscure owing to the loftiness of the style of that man and (his) interpreters afterwards."[65] In

59 Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 7.

60 For the general history, statutes, and other sources of this School, see Arthur Vööbus (ed.), *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis* (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 12; Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1962); idem, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Subs. 26; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965); Gerrit J. Reinink, "'Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth': The School of Nisibis at the Transition of the Sixth-Seventh Century," in J. W. Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 61; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 77–89; Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 143–159; Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*.

61 The "steward" was also known by other similar titles: "head …, principal, a head lecturer, director, or administrator." See Becker, *Fear of God*, 42.

62 Becker, *Fear of God*, 71, 87, 92–93, 180. Cf. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 100. It is unclear where the specific levels of instruction between "elementary instructor," "reader," and "exegete" began and ended. See Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 9.

63 Becker, *Fear of God*, 88, 93, 103.

64 Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 9; Lucas Van Rompay, "Theodore of Mopsuestia," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 402; Adam H. Becker, "Nisibis, School of," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 311.

65 Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 137.

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response to this issue, Abraham of Beth Rabban (during his time as Director of the School) produced a simplified version of these exegetical works for his students.[66] However, it remains unclear whether or not later teachers (either in the School or likely influenced by it) utilized Abraham's revised translations of Theodore's exegetical works.[67]

Other forms of exegesis were also taught in the School of Nisibis in the course of the sixth century. For instance, in the late 5th/early 6th century, *memre*—possibly those produced by Ephrem and Narsai—were taught alongside translated Greek and Syriac prose works, including those which were written by the School's former or current officeholders.[68] However, sometime in the first half of the 6th century, the teachers' exegetical focus came to rest primarily on prose works, especially commentaries in their varying forms.[69] Furthermore, by the

66 Ibid., 137–138 and Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 155. For a general discussion of Syriac translations of Greek Patristic works in the 5th–7th centuries, including a bibliography, see Sebastian Brock, "Translation: Greek and Syriac." in A.-F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 935–940, 957–959.

67 Seven of Theodore's biblical commentaries—namely, those on Genesis, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and John—survive in Syriac translations, though all of them are in fragmented form. For editions of these fragments, see the following: **Genesis, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and John**: Eduard Sachau (ed.), *Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta syriaca e codicibus Musei Britannici Nitriacis edidit atque in latinum sermonem vertit* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1869), 1, *1-*ܐ, *7*; ܟ, *14-*ܒ, *6* (Syriac), 1–27, 62 (Latin); Raymond M. Tonneau, "Théodore de Mopsueste: Interpretation (du livre) de la Genèse (Vat. Syr. 120, ff. 1–v)," *Le Muséon* 66:1–2 (1953): 45–64; Taeke Jansma, "Théodore de Mopsueste, Interprétation du livre de la Genèse: Fragments de la version syriaque (B.M. Add. 17,189, fol. 17–21)," *Le Muséon* 75:1–2 (1962): 63–92. **Psalms**: Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Théodore de Mopsueste: Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaumes* (*Psaume 118 et Psaumes 138–148*) (CSCO 435, Syr. 189; Louvain: Peeters, 1982), 14, *11*–83, *21* and idem, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.) 18–100. **Ecclesiastes**: Werner Strothmann (ed.), *Das syrische Fragment des Ecclesiastes-Kommentars von Theodor von Mopsuestia: Syrischer Text mit vollständigem Wörterverzeichnis* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 1; Reihe: Syriaca 28; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988) and idem (ed.), *Syrische Katenen aus dem Ecclesiastes-Kommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia: Syrischer Text mit vollständigem Wörterverzeichnis* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 1; Reihe: Syriaca 29; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988). **John**: Jean Baptiste Chabot (ed.), *Commentarius Theodori Mopsuesteni in Evangelium D. Johannis in libros VII partitus: Versio syriaca juxta codicem parisiensem CCCVIII edita. Tomus I: Textus syriacus* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897) and Jacques Marie Vosté (ed.), *Theodori Mopsuesteni Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis Apostoli* (CSCO 115–116, Syr. 62–63; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1940). For a further discussion concerning Aḥob's use of Theodore's Old Testament exegetical works, see Chapter 5, Subsections 5.4.1.1. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Psalms* and 5.4.1.3. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis*.

68 Becker, *Fear of God*, 13, 88–90, 115.

69 Ibid., 89–90.

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late 6th century, certain teachers (most notably Ḥenana of Adiabene) adopted a type of allegorical exegesis (commonly found in the Alexandrian exegetical tradition) that conflicted with the historical approach of Theodorean (i.e. Antiochene) exegesis,[70] and, along with various theological controversies surrounding Ḥenana, many teachers ultimately left the School, while Ḥenana was its Director.[71]

Along with biblical exegesis, the reader and the exegete in the School of Nisibis taught the East Syriac liturgy. However, the liturgy was not viewed as a distinct area of study. Rather, it was understood as being intertwined with introductory and advanced biblical studies, likely for two related reasons: the liturgy contained passages of the Peshitta, and the Peshitta was taught according to the liturgical year.[72]

Beyond biblical and liturgical studies, medicine may have been taught in the School of Nisibis, though there is no concrete evidence to support this theory.[73] The earliest point (when it could have been added to the curriculum) would have been during Abraham of Beth Rabban's time as Director of the School,[74] largely due to Sergius of Resh'ayna's (d. 536) Syriac translations of the Galenic corpus, which established the predominant way by which East Syriac writers came to comprehend the sciences.[75] Canons 19 and 20 of the School (which were added while Ḥenana was the School's Director) offer further possible evidence, in that they mention that biblical/liturgical studies and medical studies, as well as the students who pursued these subjects, were to be intentionally separated: whereas biblical and liturgical studies were preparatory for a monastic, ecclesiastical, or academic life, medical studies laid the foundation for a secular life.[76]

The School of Nisibis likely functioned as the model for a variety of other schools and centers of East Syriac exegesis in the sixth century.[77] These can

70 Ibid., 90 and Jeff W. Childers, "Ḥenana," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 194.

71 Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 10.

72 Becker, *Fear of God*, 94, 205.

73 Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 158.

74 Reinink, "Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth," 77, n. 3 and ibid., 80, 95.

75 Galen's (129–ca. 210) Greek medical works were first translated into Syriac by Sergius. See Henri Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote du grec au syriaque. Études sur la transmission des textes de l'Organon et leur interprétation philosophique* (Textes et traditions 9; Paris: Vrin, 2004), 125–127. While Sergius himself was a West Syriac writer and translator, he was in close contact with East Syriac writers.

76 Becker, *Fear of God*, 84, 86, 95.

77 Becker, "Nisibis, School of," 311 and ibid., 155.

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be broadly categorized as independent schools (i.e. institutions which did not depend upon a church or monastery and which taught both basic and advanced forms of learning), monastic schools, and village schools (i.e. institutions which taught either basic literacy or advanced forms of learning).[78] Concerning independent schools, these include the School of Seleucia,[79] the School of Arbela, the School of Kashkar, the School of Balad, the School of Beth Sahde of Nisibis, and the School of Dinawar.[80] Concerning monastic schools, these include the schools in the monastery of Salak, in the village of Beth ʿAynata, in the monastery built by Daniel the Penitent, in Ḥirta, and possibly in the monastery of Gaṣṣa of Ishoʿzeka.[81] The only village school known from this period was in Beth Rastak. While it is situated in the early seventh century, one can presume that it was founded and became active in (at minimum) the late sixth century.[82] If other village schools existed in the sixth century, they would have likely been structured in an informal manner.[83] Though these various institutions are often referred to as schools, Becker notes that "in some of the sources it is not clear whether a city had an actual school or was simply a center of learning where teachers and students would gather from afar."[84] In other words, it is quite possible that some of the formal schools listed above might actually be better categorized as informal centers of East Syriac exegesis, the details of which are largely unknown.

There is also one instance of what might be called a scholarly milieu, which existed in the region of Beth Qaṭraye[85] from at least the late 6th century through the late 7th century.[86] While several writers emerged from Beth Qaṭraye during this period, no formal East Syriac school or informal center of learning is known to have existed in this region at this time. Nevertheless, one can conclude that—based on the varied writings of such figures as Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze (first half of the 7th century), Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya (first half of the 7th century), and Isaac of Nineveh (late 7th century)—some form of education was available in Beth Qaṭraye for roughly a hundred years.

78 Becker, *Fear of God*, 156–157, 160, 163.
79 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.
80 Becker, *Fear of God*, 155–160.
81 Ibid., 161–163.
82 Ibid., 163.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid., 160.
85 For a further discussion, see Introduction, Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye.
86 For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.4. The Scholarly Milieu of Beth Qaṭraye.

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3 Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye

The region of Beth Qaṭraye included the peninsula of Qatar, the island of Bahrain, and the surrounding northeastern Arabian coast,[87] encompassing such towns and local areas as Dayrin, Hagar, Hatta, and Mashmahig.[88] Christianity likely came to Beth Qaṭraye in the late fourth century,[89] for the Acts of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410 mention an Elia, bishop of Mashmahig, as a signatory and a Batay, another bishop of Mashmahig, as being anathematized.[90] Only a few details are known about sixth-century Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye. These include an Elisha (fl. ca. 522/523–536/537)[91] who was both a rival Catholicos to Narsai[92] and consecrated and deposed bishops and metropolitans who, respectively, supported and resisted him in several places—one of which was Bahrain;[93] a Sergius, bishop of Mashmahig and an Isaac, bishop

87 See Theodor Nöldeke, "Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik übersetzt und commentiert," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlich Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 128.9 (1893): 25, n. 2; 47, n. 2 and Jean Baptiste Chabot (ed.), *Synodicon orientale ou recueil de synodes nestoriens* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 680. Cf. Mario Kozah et al., "Preface," in Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Saif Shaheen Al-Murikhi, and Haya Al Thani (eds.), *An Anthology of Syriac Writers from Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 39; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015), xi–xii and Gustav Ernst Samuel Diettrich, *Išôʿdâdh's Stellung in der Auslegungsgeschichte des Alten Testamentes an seinen Commentaren zu Hosea, Joel, Jona, Sacharja 9–14 und einigen angehängten Psalmen* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 6; Giessen: J. Ricker [Alfred Töpelmann], 1902), xxix, n. 1.

88 For a further description of these places, see R. A. Carter, "Christianity in the Gulf during the First Centuries of Islam," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 19 (2008): 101–102 and Joëlle Beaucamp and Christian Robin, "L'évêché nestorien de Mâšmâhîg dans l'archipel d'al-Baḥrayn (ve–ixe siècle)," in Daniel T. Potts (ed.), *Dilmun: New Studies in the Archaeology and Early History of Bahrain* (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 2; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983), 171–176. For the historical background of this region from the third to the seventh century, see D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity: From Alexander the Great to the Coming of Islam*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 197–263.

89 For the sources for Christianity in East Arabia, see Hamad M. Bin Seray, "Christianity in East Arabia," *ARAM* 8 (1996): 316–317.

90 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 85.

91 Elisha's dates vary slightly among sources. See Addai Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert): Seconde partie, 1* (Patrologia Orientalis 7.2; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), 60/152.

92 He should not be confused with Narsai, the poet and teacher, who died in 502.

93 Scher, *Chronique de Séert: Seconde partie, 1*, 55/147–58/150 and Jean Maurice Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," in F. Graffin (ed.), *Memorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898–1968)* (Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1969), 210.

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of Hagar and Hatta, both of whom were signatories of the Synod of 576;[94] an unnamed Persian translator for Al-Nuʿmān III ibn al-Mundhir (Laḥmid king; r. 582–ca. 602), who was a (presumably East Syriac) Christian and originated from Beth Qaṭraye;[95] and a Jacob, bishop of Darin (fl. 585), who wrote questions concerning liturgical practices to the Catholicos, Ishoʿyahb I (only Ishoʿyahb I's response survives, along with 20 canons).[96]

The majority of the extant evidence focuses on the seventh century,[97] during which time a number of Christian writers—including Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze, Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya, Gabriel Qaṭraya (ca. first half of the 7th century), Abraham bar Lipah (7th century), (another) Gabriel Qaṭraya (ca. 7th century), Isaac of Nineveh (late 7th century), Dadishoʿ Qaṭraya (late 7th century), and possibly Ishoʿpanah Qaṭraya (unknown date) and Jacob Qaṭraya (unknown date)—who were either from or connected to Beth Qaṭraye, produced a wide range of writings, from biblical commentaries to liturgical and monastic works.[98] Perhaps the most extensive evidence for seventh-century Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye is provided by Catholicos Ishoʿyahb III (649–659), who produced 106 letters, 5 of which address three separate groups in Beth Qaṭraye:[99] Letter 17, to the bishops; Letters 18 and 19, to the people in general; and Letters 20 and 21, to the monks.[100] Each of these letters discuss a variety of ecclesiastical matters, such as acceptable bishopric ordinations (Letter 17), dealing with rebellious bishops (Letters 18 and 19), encouraging the monks to oppose the rebellious bishops (Letter 20), and responding to a growing schism among the local monastic community (Letter 21).[101] Ishoʿyahb III's successor,

94 Bin Seray, "Christianity in East Arabia," 321; Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 85; Carter, "Christianity in the Gulf during the First Centuries of Islam," 101–102.

95 Lucas Van Rompay, "Beth Qaṭraye," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 73.

96 Bin Seray, "Christianity in East Arabia," 321 and Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 94. For Jacob's chronological placement among the other known writers from Beth Qaṭraye, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

97 Cf. Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 95.

98 For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsections 1.1.3. Date and 1.1.4. The Scholarly Milieu of Beth Qaṭraye.

99 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 85 and John F. Healey, "The Christians of Qatar in the 7th Century A.D.," in Ian Richard Netton (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth. Vol. 1: Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies* (Leiden / Boston / Köln: Brill, 2000), 227–229.

100 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 86–87 and Healey, "The Christians of Qatar in the 7th Century A.D.," 229–232.

101 Ibid.

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Catholicos Giwargis (661–680), traveled to Beth Qaṭraye, where he presided over a local synod in Dayrin in 676.[102] One of the signatories of this synod was Thomas, metropolitan of Beth Qaṭraye, and, as Sebastian Brock has suggested, his title as "metropolitan" reveals that Beth Qaṭraye had become independent of the metropolitan see of Rev Ardashir, likely under Giwargis rather than Ishoʿyahb III, the latter of whom had opposed this particular ecclesiastical development in his Letter 21.[103]

While no specific evidence for eighth-century Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye has yet emerged, Christians were still living in this region in the ninth century, as demonstrated by Ishoʿ bar Nun's (d. 828) liturgically-related letter to Isaac, the "Visitor" of Beth Qaṭraye;[104] the presence of Christian pearl divers around Bahrain in 833/835;[105] and the kind treatment of Christians in Yamana and Bahrain by the rebel Shah Abū Saʿīd Ḥasan ibn Bahrām al-Jannābī (r. before 899–913) during the time of Catholicos Yoḥannan III (893–899).[106] After the ninth century, however, there is no reliable evidence for Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye, due to Islamic influences.

4 Overview of Chapters

Since Aḥob of Qatar's surviving biographical data have not been thoroughly examined by previous scholarship and considering the fact that his Old Testament exegetical works are primarily scholia that have been exploited in various ways by later East Syriac writers, this material is best introduced and most comprehensively studied in 5 chapters—each of which are divided into a varying number of sections and subsections—and an Appendix. Due to the manner by which Aḥob's life and Old Testament exegetical works are presented and discussed, Chapters 1 and 2 are noticeably shorter than Chapters 3–5, partially because the text and translation of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works are re-presented (in whole or in part) in many of the subsections within Chapters 3–5. In a related manner, Chapters 3 and 4 technically function as one continuous chapter but have been arbitrarily divided to make them as equal in

102 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 87 and Healey, "The Christians of Qatar in the 7th Century A.D.," 232–233.

103 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 87.

104 Ibid., 95, n. 56.

105 Beaucamp and Robin, "L'évêché nestorien de Mâšmâhîg," 186–187 and Carter, "Christianity in the Gulf during the First Centuries of Islam," 100.

106 Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," 211.

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length as possible, without dividing up any particular section. Aḥob's surviving biographical data, his edited Old Testament exegetical works, their use and development within the East Syriac exegetical tradition, and his sources are presented in separate chapters so that their extent can be readily observed and their contents easily navigated.

Chapter 1 ("Aḥob of Qatar") examines the surviving biographical data relating to Aḥob's life and works, including the details of his early references, the original spelling of his name, his date, his connection to the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, and his works.

Chapter 2 ("Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works") encompasses two main sections. The first section identifies the specific places where Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works are preserved within the Syriac manuscript tradition, which includes eight writers and manuscript traditions in the East Syriac exegetical tradition. The second section presents an annotated edition and English translation of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and 35 surviving attributed Old Testament scholia, followed by an exploration of several disputed scholia and spurious scholia.

Chapter 3 ("Aḥob of Qatar and the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition (ca. 600–ca. 850)") is divided into four primary sections, each of which analyzes Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works as they were used and developed by four later East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions, namely, Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*, the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*, and the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*. Nathniel only uses Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, while the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* relies on both of Aḥob's known Genesis scholia. Bar Koni utilizes one of Aḥob's Genesis scholia and his *Cause of the Psalms*, while the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (along with one of its preceding documents) relies on nineteen of Aḥob's Psalm-related writings.

Chapter 4 ("Aḥob of Qatar and the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition (ca. 850–1439/1440)") includes four main sections and continues the examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works as they were used and developed by four more later East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions, namely, Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary on Genesis*, *1Samuel*, and *Psalms*, the *Anonymous Commentary*, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, and Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. Isho'dad relies, in whole or in part, on both of Aḥob's known Genesis scholia, his only known 1Samuel scholion, and fourteen of his Psalm-related writings, while the *Anonymous Commentary* uses both of Aḥob's known Genesis scholia, one of his Numbers scholia, his only known 1Samuel scholion, and his only known Bar Sira scholion. Bar Bahlul relies on eleven Aḥob scholia, which are presented

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as either etymological glosses of proper names or brief definitions of various biblical words and/or phrases, and Isaac Shbadnaya utilizes Aḥob's Calendrical and Eschatological scholia.

Chapter 5 ("The Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works") is presented in eight primary sections. The first and second sections investigate the original form and purpose, respectively, of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. The third section considers the Peshitta Old Testament underlying his Old Testament exegetical works. The fourth section examines the multiple Greek, Syriac, and other sources used by Aḥob to produce his Old Testament exegetical works. These include Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis* and *Psalms*, Basil of Caesarea's (ca. 330–379) Prologue to Psalm 1, the *Physiologus* (2nd or 3rd century), the East Syriac liturgy, cosmology, church architecture, Jewish exegesis and customs, Hebrew and Greek readings, medical phraseology, the language of Qatar, a rare word of uncertain etymology, and Coptic, Persian, and miscellaneous references. The fifth, sixth, and seventh sections explore Aḥob's Christology, polemics, and eschatology, respectively. The eighth section analyzes the many distinctive exegetical tendencies of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, one of which is Aḥob's willingness to critique Theodore of Mopsuestia—a likely reason (among others) as to why at least some of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works have survived.

The Appendix ("An Edition of the Introduction and Select Parts of Thirteen Psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*") presents an edition of the introduction and select parts of thirteen psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, to which Aḥob's Psalm scholia are connected.

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CHAPTER 1

Aḥob of Qatar

1.1 Aḥob of Qatar's Surviving Biographical Data

This chapter will examine Aḥob of Qatar, an important, though to-date largely neglected, East Syriac biblical commentator.[1] The early references to his life will be surveyed, and the debates surrounding the original spelling of his name and his dates will be explored. Following a consideration of Aḥob's connection to the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, his works will be discussed.

1.1.1 *Early References*

While the specific details of Aḥob's life are largely unknown, there are a few pieces of reliable evidence for his existence and writings. In his *Catalogue of Books*, the East Syriac bishop, ʿAbdishoʿ bar Brikha (d. 1318), references an Aḥob Qaṭraya (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ) and his writings in the following brief entry:[2]

1 Ter Haar Romeny previously produced four publications that briefly discuss Aḥob's life and works. See Bas ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version in Išoʿdad's Commentary on the Psalms," in Ada Rapoport Albert and Gillian Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrews, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 333; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 450–452; idem, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 12; Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 134–137; idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms* by Aḥūb Qaṭraya," in Mario Kozah et al. (eds.), *An Anthology of Syriac Writers from Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 39; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015), 89–90.

2 Josephus Simonius Assemani (ed.), *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, in qua manuscriptos codices syriacos, arabicos, persicos, turcicos, hebraicos, samaritanos, armenicos, æthiopicos, Graecos, ægyptiacos, ibericos & malabaricos*, 3.1 (Roma: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1725), 175; Yusuf Habbi, *Fihris al-muʾallifīn taʾlīf li-ʿAbd Yašūʿ al-Ṣūbāwī* (Maṭbūʿāt al-Maǧmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī: al-Hayʾah al-Suryānīyah; Baghdād: Maṭbaʿat al-Maǧmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī, 1986), 98, *793–796* (Syriac) {For the Arabic edition of this entry, see ibid., 203, *793–796*}. The oldest known manuscript containing ʿAbdishoʿ's *Catalogue of Books* is ms. Vat. Syr. 176, which is dated to 1476. See Hubert Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis et le *Catalogue des livres* de ʿAḇdīšōʿ bar Brīḵā," in Bernard Heyberger (ed.), *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664)* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 121.

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ܐܗܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܚܒܪ ܗܠܝܢ	Aḥob Qaṭraya composed
ܦܫܝܛܐ ܘܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ	a commentary of the whole New (Testament)
ܘܫܪܝ ܠܥܠ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ	and of the Pentateuch and all the Prophets,
ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒ	apart from[3] a commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*.

The 9th–11th-century *Chronicle of Seert* mentions an individual named Ayyūb (ايوب), who was an Exegete (مفسر), a relative (قرابة) of Narsai (399–502), and lost the candidacy for the see of Catholicos of Seleucia in 580/581[4] to Isho'yahb I (former bishop of Arzun; d. 595).[5] Earlier scholarship has identified this Ayyūb with Aḥob:[6]

ولما استتاح حزقيال الجاثليق	After the death of Ezekiel, the Catholicos,
اجتمع الناس لوقوع الاختيار على من يعقد	some of those who had assembled to choose
له الجثلقة فاختار بعضهم ايوب المفسر	a Catholicos elected Ayyūb the Exegete

3 In this entry in their respective editions of 'Abdisho''s *Catalogue of Books*, Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664) and Assemani (1687–1768) translated ܡܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ as the Latin "praeter," meaning "besides." More recently, Ter Haar Romeny rendered this phrase as "in addition to," followed by "except for," though the latter translation was placed within parenthesis, likely to indicate that it was not the primary meaning of this phrase in this entry. Furthermore, the only other instance where 'Abdisho' uses ܡܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ in his *Catalogue* is in an entry entitled "Books that are not mentioned" (ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥܝܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ), where the relevant lines state, "… and, again, we have histories, which are more than hundreds, apart from these which are written in the two books of Paradise" (ܘܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܠܡ ܡܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܬ ܡܢ ܒܬ ܬܪܝܢ ܕܒܚܬܝ ܚܕ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܕܟܬ̈ܝܢ ܒܦ̈ܪܕܝܣ ܡܬ̈ܝ). Thus, in the context of 'Abdisho''s Aḥob entry, ܡܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ likely means "apart from," rather than its usual meaning of "except for." See Abraham Ecchellensis, *Incipimus scribere tractatem continentem catalogum librorum Chaldæorum, tam ecclesiasticorum, quam profanorum* (Rome: Typis S.C. de Propaganda Fide, 1653), 82, *7* (Syriac), 83 (Latin); Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175; Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 134; Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-'Abd Yašū' al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *796*; 128, *1122*, *1127*–129, *1130*.

4 According to Elijah of Nisibis' (975–1046) *Chronography*, this occurred "in the fourth year of (the reign of) Hormizd" (مزد[ر] ابع [لهر] / [ܗܘܪܡܙܕ] ܫܢܬ ܪܒ̈ܥ), which equates to 582/583. See E. W. Brooks (ed.), *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (CSCO 62, Syr. 21 [III.7]; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1909), 52, *16*, *20*; idem (ed.), *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (CSCO 63, Syr. 23 [III.7]; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1910), 30; Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 228.

5 Addai Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne* (*Chronique de Séert*)*: Seconde partie, II* (Patrologia Orientalis 13.4; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1919), 118/438. My English translation is based on Scher's French translation.

6 For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.2. Name.

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الذي كان بالمدائن وهو قرابة مار نرسي	of Seleucia[7] and the relative of Mar Narsai;
واختار اخرون ايشوعيب اسقف ارزن	and the others chose Ishoʿyahb, bishop of Arzun.
وانتهى الامر الى الملك	And the dispute was taken to the king,
فامر ان ينصب فى	(and) he ordered that the bishop of Arzun
الجثلقة اسقف ارزن	was (to be) consecrated Catholicos.

The 11th-century *Kitāb al-Maǧdal* (*The Book of the Tower*) preserves two similar records, though Ayyūb's relation to Narsai and the date of 580/581 are only mentioned in select manuscripts:[8]

فلما استناح حزقيال	Therefore, when Ezekiel died,
اجتمع الآبا والمومنون للاختيار	the fathers and the believers assembled for an election
فوقع الاختيار على ايوب المفسر	(and) the choice fell on Ayyūb the Exegete
بالمداين وكان [من] قرابة مار نرسي	of Seleucia and relative of Mar Narsai,
الملفان [وعلى] ايشوعياب	the (ecclesiastical) doctor, and Ishoʿyahb,
اسقف ارزن ونهي الامر الى هرمزد	bishop of Arzun. The news reached Hormizd,[9]
ابن انوشروان	the son of Anushirvan,[10]
[وان] في السنة الاولى لملكه	in the first year of his reign,
امر بتصيير ايشوعياب	(and) he ordered that Ishoʿyahb be brought
فالبس بيرون بنفسجي	and he was vested publicly with a purplish robe.
واسيم فطركا بالمداين	He was named patriarch to Seleucia
سنة اثنين وتسعين وثانية يونانية	in the year 892, according to the Greek reckoning.

7 In Arabic, this city is known as al-Madāʾin.

8 Ayyūb is mentioned in the Arabic text of *Kitāb al-Maǧdal* twice. See Henricus Gismondi (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria ex codicibus vaticanis* (Roma: C. de Luigi, 1896), 44, *17*–45, *1* (Arabic); idem (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria ex codicibus vaticanis* (Roma: C. de Luigi, 1897), 44, *17*–45, *1* (Arabic), 26 (Latin); Henricus Gismondi (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria ex codicibus vaticanis* (Roma: C. de Luigi, 1899), 55, *21–22* (Arabic), 49 (Latin). Narsai and the date 580/581 are not mentioned in Gismondi's 1899 edition. Gismondi based his work on ms. Neofiti 54 (*olim* 41), an 18th-century manuscript unknown to Assemani. See Gianmaria Gianazza (ed.), *Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī* (*XIV*^{e} *s.*)*: Asfār al-asrār: 1: Préface, Table des matières, Livre premier et Livre second* (Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien 33; Beirut: CEDRAC, 2018), 9–10.

9 Namely, Hormizd IV (r. 579–590).

10 Namely, Khosrow I Anushirvan (the father of Hormizd IV; r. 531–579).

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فلما مات حزقيال	When Ezekiel died,
ووقع التشاجر في معناه	there occurred a dispute concerning his qualifications
ومعنى ايوب المفسر	and the qualifications of Ayyūb the Exegete.
وانتهى الامر الى الملك وامر	The affair reached the king, and he ordered that
باجلاس ايشوعيب	Isho'yahb (be set) on the (patriarchal) throne.

The 14th-century *Kitāb Asfār al-asrār* (*The Book of Mysteries*)[11] preserves a similar account to the longer record found in the *Kitāb al-Mağdal*:[12]

> At the death of Ezekiel, the Fathers and the faithful gathered for the election, and the choice fell on Ayyūb the Exegete of Seleucia, a relative of Mar Narsai, the doctor, and on Isho'yahb, bishop of Arzun. The choice was referred to Hormizd, son of Anushirvan, who was in the first year of his reign, and he gave orders that Isho'yahb was to be patriarch. Dressed in a purplish pontifical robe, he was consecrated to Seleucia in the year 892, in the Easter calculation 11.4.4.

Duval made the initial suggestion that the Syriac Ayyub (ܐܝܘܒ), who is referenced several times in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, should be considered the same person as the Arabic Ayyūb the Exegete (ايوب المفسر),[13] the head of the School of Seleucia.[14] He based his argument on Henricus Gismondi's 1897 edition (and Latin translation) of the *Kitāb al-Mağdal*.[15] Roger Cowley agreed with and expanded Duval's proposal, insisting that the Syriac ܐܝܘܒ and ܐܝܘܒ were

11 Gianazza has published a critical edition of the *Kitāb Asfār al-asrār*, as well as the Arabic text of Books 1 and 2, based on ten manuscripts. His base manuscript is the 14th-century Vat. Ar. 110, arguably the autograph of Ṣalībā. See Gianmaria Gianazza (ed.), *Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī: I libri dei misteri* (*Kitāb asfār al-asrār*)*: Introduzione, traduzione, note e indici* (Patrimonio Culturale Arabo Cristiano 12; Canterano: Aracne Editrice, 2017), 41–44 and idem, *Asfār al-asrār*, 22–26.

12 Gianazza, *I libri dei misteri*, 439. A critical edition of the Arabic text of Book 5, which is where Ayyūb is mentioned, is forthcoming. My English translation is based on Gianazza's Italian translation.

13 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

14 Cf. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 391, n. 3 and Jean-Maurice Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967): 407. For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

15 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

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two different spellings for the same person, namely the Arabic ايوب المفسر.[16] Beyond Duval's suggestion, the basis for Cowley's argument lay in the *Chronicle of Seert* and in a rejection of Josephus Simonius Assemani's (ʿAbdishoʿ's second Latin editor; 1687–1768) proposal of a late 10th-century context for Aḥob.[17]

If the *Chronicle of Seert* and the later Arabic witnesses[18] are correct, Aḥob may well have been born in Qatar and later moved to Seleucia.[19] If one accepts that Aḥob was Ayyūb, the Exegete, there is no reason to doubt the date of 580/581 (or 582/583) given in these sources.[20] However, their claim concerning Aḥob's relation to Narsai needs to be evaluated. Narsai is attested as having lived in northern Mesopotamia: he was born in ʿAyn Dulba (modern Dahuk Governorate, Iraq) and became a noted teacher and exegete in the Schools of Edessa and later Nisibis, where he ultimately died.[21] While at face value it seems unlikely that someone from Qatar would be related to someone from northern Mesopotamia, it is conceivable that one of Narsai's descendants travelled to Qatar and settled there. Thus, even though there is a dearth of evidence concerning Narsai's later blood relatives, Aḥob's relation to Narsai is possible, though it cannot be established with any degree of certainty.

1.1.2 *Name*

Abraham Ecchellensis (ʿAbdishoʿ's first Latin editor; 1605–1664) referred to him as Aḥob Qaṭraya (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ).[22] Assemani's edition superseded that of

16 Roger W. Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar on St John's Gospel and the Pauline Epistles," *Le Muséon* 93:3–4 (1980): 338.

17 Ibid., 338–340. Aḥob's date is discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

18 Gismondi's 1896 publication is Ṣalībā's text, notwithstanding some differences as witnessed in ms. Vat. Ar. 110. Earlier scholarship noted the similarities and differences between *Kitāb al-Maǧdal* and the *Kitāb Asfār al-asrār* and largely concluded that Ṣalībā had plagiarized and/or inflated earlier records to produce his own. Gianazza and other recent scholars have critiqued this view, arguing that Ṣalībā's work should be considered a unique product of the 14th century. See Gianazza, *Asfār al-asrār*, 9 (esp. n. 19)–17; idem, "Ṣalībā est-il un plagiaire?," *Parole de l'Orient* 42 (2016): 237–254; Bo Holmberg, "A Reconsideration of the *Kitāb al-Maǧdal*," *Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993): 255–273.

19 Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 338 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," 12.

20 For reasons which will be discussed in the following subsections, I accept that Aḥob was Ayyūb, the Exegete, who was a candidate for the Catholicosate in 580/581 or 582/583.

21 The main sources for reconstructing the life of Narsai are the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*, both of which are attributed to Barḥadbshabba ʿArbaya (late 6th/early 7th century). See Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 47–72, 150–152.

22 Ecchellensis, *Incipimus scribere tractatem*, 82, *5* (Syriac), 83 (Latin). The source of Ecchel-

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Ecchellensis, and he called him Ayyub Qaṭraya (ܐܝܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ).[23] Assemani footnoted Ecchellensis' rendering of the name but did not interact with it.[24] The spelling of the name as ܐܝܘܒ remained the standard for nearly two centuries, until Duval edited Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* in the early 20th century. In the preface to his edition, Duval stated that his work relied on fourteen manuscripts, at least four of which alternate between the spellings of ܐܝܘܒ and ܐܘܒ.[25] However, Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) did not view the spelling of ܐܝܘܒ to be the most authoritative. Rather, as Duval noted, they preferred the spelling of ܐܘܒ, as well as a third rendering of the name, Ḥob (ܚܘܒ), which is used eight times throughout the *Lexicon*.[26] While Duval relied on Assemani's work for the publication of his third volume, he did not show a reliance upon Ecchellensis.[27] Furthermore, all of the manuscripts used by Duval are later in date than Ecchellensis' base manuscript, namely, ms. Vat. Syr. 456. Somewhat interestingly, Duval concluded that all three names were to be regarded as variant forms indicating the same person and so did not offer an original spelling.[28] Building on Duval's observations, Jean Baptiste Chabot evaluated the evidence for reconstructing the original spelling of the name. He noted the three spellings offered by Duval and suggested that Assemani had likely chosen the spelling ܐܘܒ, rather than Ecchellensis' spelling, for the main body of his edition, because it was a familiar Syriac name, since this is the spelling of the biblical name of Job.[29] He dismissed Duval's insistence on the spelling of ܚܘܒ as a legitimate spelling, pointing out instead that its original form was likely ܚܝܘܒ and that the initial ܚ had been lost due to the carelessness of an otherwise unknown copyist.[30] Chabot concluded that ܐܝܘܒ should be regarded as the authentic spelling, based on ms. Paris,

lensis' edition was ms. Vat. Syr. 456, which is dated to 1593. See Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis," 122, esp. n. 18.

23 Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175. The basis for Assemani's edition was ms. Vat. Syr. 176. See Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis," 121, 131.

24 Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175, n. 4.

25 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vols. 1–3), ii–iii, xix, xxvi–xxxix, 1646, *1*, 1792, n. 22, 2092, n. 14.

26 Ibid., (vols. 1–2), 223, *13*; 397, *12*; 1077, *16*; 1143, *4*; 1212, *3*; 1400, *5*; 1937, *3*; 2092, *3*.

27 For instance, Duval cites Assemani's edition concerning Aḥob, but he does not mention Ecchellensis' edition. See ibid., (vol. 3), xix.

28 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

29 J.-B. Chabot, "Éclaircissements sur quelques points de la littérature syriaque," *Journal Asiatique* 10.8 (1906): 273.

30 Ibid.

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BnF Syr. 315 (which contains ʿAbdishoʿ's *Catalogue of Books* and was the only ʿAbdishoʿ manuscript available to him; dated to 1884), Ecchellensis and Assemani's respective editions, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (vol. 3), Vandenhoff's partial edition of the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*,[31] and a number of relevant 19th-century manuscripts containing this spelling of the name.[32] In 1986, Yusuf Habbi produced a Syriac-Arabic critical edition of ʿAbdishoʿ's *Catalogue of Books*,[33] and he referred to him as Aḥob Qaṭraya (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ) in Syriac and Ayyūb / Aḥūb Qaṭraya (ايوب / احوب القطري) in Arabic.[34] Among other sources, Habbi relied on the editions of both Ecchellensis and Assemani, as well as ms. Vat. Syr. 176 (Assemani's base manuscript).[35] More recent scholars, such as Cowley, Sebastian Brock, and Ter Haar Romeny, agree with Chabot's assessment and maintain that ܐܚܘܒ is the most authentic rendering of the original name.[36]

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31 See ibid., 274, n. 1, where Chabot cites this source via another one of his articles: idem, "Gannat bussame: Note sur l'ouvrage syriaque intitulé Le Jardin des Délices," in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern* (Gieszen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906), 495.

32 Chabot, "Éclaircissements sur quelques points de la littérature syriaque," 273–274. Chabot notes (274, n. 1) four manuscripts he has consulted: Seert 121 (1800), Alqosh 36 (*olim* 20) (1884), Alqosh *olim* 21 (1893), and Alqosh 34 (*olim* 22) (1887).

33 Prior to Habbi's edition, ʿAbdishoʿ's *Catalogue of Books* was translated into English by George Percy Badger. See idem, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals, with the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842–1844 and of a Late Visit to Those Countries in 1850*, 2 vols. (London: Joseph Masters, 1852). It was also printed in Mosul by Yawsep d-Beth Qelayta in 1924. He may have printed it sixteen years earlier in Urmia (1908) as well, but this is uncertain. Yawsep's 1924 publication was later translated into English by Ishai Shimun (1965), who was also aware of Badger's translation. Yawsep and Shimun's works rely on Assemani's edition, while Badger's work shows a number of differences from Assemani's base manuscript. While it is unclear which manuscript(s) he used, it is clear that these works present no new evidence related to the original spelling of the name currently being investigated. See Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis," 131–133.

34 The Arabic equivalent of ܐܚܘܒ is احوب. Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-ʿAbd Yašūʿ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *793* (Syriac), 203, *112 Title*, *793* (Arabic). There is also an Arabic-only version of this text, which was published in the same year (1986). However, it lists Aḥob's entry on p. 91, not p. 98.

35 Habbi's edition was based on eight earlier sources: four manuscripts, three editions, and a commentary. See Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-ʿAbd Yašūʿ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 15.

36 Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 338; Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 92–93; Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 134. For examples of recent scholars who use the transliterated name only, see Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 5, 10, 14, 21, 47, *15*, 88; Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), v, 161, n. 7; idem, *Psaumes* (trans.),

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Before a conclusion can be reached, it should be noted that the oldest witness containing the name ܐܝܘܒ, namely, ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 (e.g. the *Anonymous Commentary* from Exod 9:28-end; 10th century) was produced several centuries after Aḥob lived.[37] In it, Aḥob is referenced by name three times: on f. 53v, *1* (Num 21:19) he is called ܐܝܘܒ, on f. 83v, lower margin (1Sam 8:1, 6) he is called ܐܝܘܒ ܡܢ ܪܚܒܐ, and on f. 133r, upper and outside margins (Bar Sira 14:12, 18) he is called ܐܝܘܒ.[38] Furthermore, outside of Bar Bahlul, the spelling of ܐܝܘ is not attested elsewhere in the manuscript tradition as a reference to this writer from Qatar. Though Bar Bahlul's specific source(s) for this spelling is/are unknown, Chabot's suggestion as to its origin is entirely possible. While a definite original spelling for the name cannot be conclusively determined due to a lack of early witnesses, the available evidence suggests that Aḥob (ܐܝܘܒ) is the most authentic rendering of his name, and the graphically similar form, Job (ܐܝܘܒ), was introduced by scribes—long before Assemani—who were unfamiliar with the original name but very familiar with the biblical figure, and this gave rise to the Arabic form, Ayyūb (ايوب), in the *Chronicle of Seert* and the later Arabic witnesses.[39] The spelling of Aḥob (ܐܝܘܒ) will be adopted throughout this study.

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xxii–xxiii, xxxiv–xxxvii; Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xliii.

37 Macomber, "Newly Discovered Fragments of the Gospel Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia," 443, n. 11 and Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary," 54.

38 In later stages of the *Anonymous Commentary* (from the early 16th-early 20th centuries), when the Genesis section of the commentary was fully restored, Aḥob's name is also referenced in Gen 15:9–10 and Gen 50:10, both places of which it is spelled ܐܝܘܒ. Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 137–142.

39 "Aḥob" is an unusual Syriac name in antiquity. While there are possible connections in other Semitic languages, especially pre-Classical Arabic, the main issue is that the inscriptions are written in consonants only. Thus, vowels and/or diphthongs could be added in a number of combinations to produce a given word. So, the name ʾḥb could be completed with any number of the following vowels: ʾa/i/u ḥ a/i/u b. Other parallel examples include ḥb, and ḥbb. See G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 24, 172. There is also a parallel with the name Hb in image number 0005290 (which translated states, "By Hb son of ʾrb son of Mz son of ʾll") on The Khalili Research Centre, "Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA): #0005290," accessed 27 September 2021, http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005290.html. Other parallels to Aḥob exist in pre-Islamic literature. See Werner Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab: das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), 145 (esp. Aḥabb and al-Aḥabb).

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1.1.3 *Date*

In a footnote in his edition and Latin translation of ʿAbdishoʿ's *Catalogue of Books*, Assemani suggested that Aḥob lived roughly around the year 990.[40] While he does not cite any immediate supporting evidence to validate his claim, Assemani does propose (in another footnote on the same page) that Abraham of Basra, whose entry directly precedes that of Aḥob's, lived in the year 990.[41] However, Assemani does not appear to have presumed that ʿAbdishoʿ arranged his entries chronologically. For instance, Denḥa's entry immediately follows Aḥob's, and Assemani believed he lived around the year 740.[42]

Cowley demonstrated that since Ishoʿdad of Merv (fl. ca. 850) selectively quotes his exegetical works, Aḥob could not have lived over a hundred years after him.[43] Cowley further suggested that this Aḥob should be identified with Ayyūb, the Exegete of Seleucia, who lived at the end of the 6th century.[44] Ter Haar Romeny agrees with Cowley's assertion of a 6th-century timeframe for Aḥob, on the basis of Jean Maurice Fiey's historical study, which shows that by the early 10th century Christianity had succumbed to Islamic influences in the region of Beth Qaṭraye.[45] However, even with Christianity still existing in Beth Qaṭraye in the late 9th century,[46] it still precedes Assemani's suggested date for Aḥob by roughly a hundred years. Aḥob cannot be dated earlier than the mid-6th century, because he references the production of *ʿOnyata*, and the earliest composer of *ʿOnyata* chants was likely John of Beth Rabban (d. ca. 566/567).[47] The earliest writer to rely on and quote Aḥob (albeit anonymously) is Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600), whose *Cause of the Psalms* title states that he was martyred during the time of Khosrow II, who reigned from 590–628.[48] If Aḥob's *ʿOnyata* reference and Nathniel's use of Aḥob are considered along with Duval

40 Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175, n. 4.

41 Ibid., n. 1.

42 Ibid., n. 5. Brock disagrees with at least some of Assemani's dates and insists that ʿAbdishoʿ organized his *Catalogue of Books* chronologically. See Sebastian Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged (Mōrān ʾEthʾō 9; Baker Hill, Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 2011), 69.

43 Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 339.

44 Ibid., 338.

45 Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," 211–212 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," 12.

46 For a further discussion, see Introduction, Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye.

47 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.8. Miscellaneous References.

48 For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

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and Cowley's assertation that the Syriac Aḥob is the same person as the Arabic Ayyūb, one can reasonably situate Aḥob in the second half of the 6th century, though perhaps more accurately in the late 6th century. Further evidence for an early date for Aḥob consists of the following:

– The form of Aḥob's two Persian nouns—"brocade" (ܕܒܝܓ) and "dasāg" (ܕܣܓ)—can be dated to a pre-Arabic, i.e. Middle Persian, context.[49]
– The earliest manuscript tradition to quote Aḥob (also anonymously) is the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, which Lucas Van Rompay has dated to the first half—or even possibly closer to the beginning—of the eighth century.[50]
– Aḥob's Old Testament scholia are not encyclopedic in nature, as is the case for later East Syriac commentators, such as Theodore bar Koni (fl. end of the 8th century) and Isho'dad of Merv;[51] the non-encyclopedic nature of his Old Testament scholia suggests an early date.
– Thomas Carlson has hinted at an early date for Aḥob, on the basis of a quotation attributed to Aḥob and Gabriel Qaṭraya (first half of the 7th century),[52] as preserved in Isaac Shbadnaya's (fl. 1439/1440) prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.[53] This quotation, which Carlson labels Passage 4, reflects Shbadnaya's knowledge of Gabriel's exegesis, the latter of which likely relied on Aḥob's earlier exegesis of the same subject.[54]

Although he does not offer an immediate reason to support his claim, Brock disagrees with Cowley's assertation that Aḥob is to be identified as a 6th-century figure.[55] Earlier, in his 1999 *ARAM* article, Brock questioned whether Aḥob was "the same person as the monk at the monastery of Rab Kennare (in Beth Huzzaye) who requested Dadisho' Qaṭraya [late 7th century] to write his Commentary on the Asceticon of Abba Isaiah."[56] This particular Aḥob (who is the only

49 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.
50 Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), lii–liii.
51 Ibid., liii; Van Rompay, "Between the School and the Monk's Cell," 31; Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405.
52 Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), lii.
53 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 169–193.
54 Ibid., 178–180. For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion.
55 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 93, n. 39. In an earlier study, Brock situated Aḥob as one of the most important 6th-century biblical commentators. See Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, (SEERI Correspondence Course on Syrian Christian Heritage 1; Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1988), 67.
56 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 92, n. 37; René Draguet (ed.), *Commentaire du*

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other Aḥob attested in antiquity) is arguably a different, and later, Aḥob than the focus of this present study. The main reasons for this are twofold: 1) Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600) relies on Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* for his own introductory treatise to the book of Psalms,[57] and 2) Aḥob's extant Old Testament scholia tie him to biblical interpretation and not to any aspect of the ascetic tradition.[58] Thus, Aḥob the Exegete, who lived in the late 6th century, and Aḥob the monk, who lived in the late 7th century, cannot be the same person.

A 6th-century setting for Aḥob would place him as a contemporary, or slightly earlier contemporary, of other influential writers from Beth Qaṭraye, such as Gabriel Qaṭraya, Isaac of Nineveh, and Dadishoʿ Qaṭraya. In order to historically situate Aḥob, the following table (based on studies conducted by Brock and Mario Kozah) lists the known writers from Beth Qaṭraye in rough chronological order:[59]

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livre d'Abba Isaïe (*logoi I–XV*) *par Dadišo Qatraya* (*VIIe s.*) (CSCO 326, Syr. 144; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972), 1, *6*; 206, *20*; idem (ed.), *Commentaire du livre d'Abba Isaïe* (*logoi I–XV*) *par Dadišo Qatraya* (*VIIe s.*) (CSCO 327, Syr. 145; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972), 1, 159.

57 For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

58 Due to the fact that Aḥob the monk made a request of Dadishoʿ Qaṭraya, it is possible that he knew Dadishoʿ and was also from Qatar. If accepted, this may indicate that the name, Aḥob, was being used by Christians in Qatar, which is why it was so unfamiliar to later East Syriac writers who were not from Qatar.

59 Brock and Kozah have presented these writers in a largely alphabetized and graded manner, respectively. See Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 88–96; idem, "Abraham bar Lipah," "Dadishoʿ Qatraya," "Gabriel Qaṭraya," "Isḥaq of Nineveh," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 8, 111, 171, 213–214; Mario Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century: An Overview of the Current State of Studies," in Herman G. B. Teule and Elif Keser-Kayaalp and Kutlu Akalin and Nesim Doru and Mehmet Sait Toprak (eds.), *Syriac in Its Multi-Cultural Context: First International Syriac Studies Symposium, Mardin Artuklu University, Institute of Living Languages, 20–22 April 2012, Mardin* (Eastern Christian Studies 23; Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 64–79.

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Name	Date(s)	Work(s)	Relation
Aḥob Qaṭraya	Ca. 580/581 or 582/583[60]	Author of Old and New Testament scholia and an Introduction to the Psalms	
Jacob, bishop of Darin	Fl. 585	Wrote questions concerning liturgical practices to the Catholicos, Isho'yahb I (only Isho'yahb I's response survives, along with 20 canons)	
Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze (also known as Gabriel Arya and Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya)	First half of the 7th century	Biblical commentator on the Old and New Testaments	Relative of Isaac of Nineveh, which is his only connection to Beth Qaṭraya
Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya	First half of the 7th century	Author of a Commentary on the Liturgy (in 5 *memre*) in the form of a series of questions and answers	Likely related to Abraham bar Lipah
Gabriel Qaṭraya	Ca. First half of the 7th century	Owner and collator of a Peshitta New Testament manuscript written in 614/615	
Abraham bar Lipah	7th century	Author of an abbreviated version of Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya's Commentary on the Liturgy	Likely related to Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya
Gabriel Qaṭraya	Ca. 7th century	Author of two theological treatises: "A Discourse on the Union" and "Resolutions to Questions on the Matter of the Faith"	
Anonymous Monk[61]	Ca. 7th century	Translator of the "Law Book of Shem'on of Rev Ardashir" from Persian into Syriac	

60 Aḥob's date is derived from Scher, *Chronique de Séert, Seconde partie, II*, 438, n. 5; Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae* (1896), 44, *17*–45, *1* (Arabic); idem, *Maris Amri et Slibae* (1897), 44, *17*–45, *1* (Arabic), 26 (Latin); Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae* (1899), 55, *21*–*22* (Arabic), 49 (Latin); Gianazza, *I libri dei misteri*, 439; Brooks, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (text), 52, *16*, *20*; idem, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (trans.), 30; Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 228.

61 There is also another monastic figure, a certain Rabban Bar Sahde, who lived in the mid-

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(*cont.*)

Name	Date(s)	Work(s)	Relation
Isaac of Nineveh	Late 7th century	Author of Monastic texts, possibly in 5 Parts[62]	Relative of Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze
Dadishoʿ Qaṭraya	Late 7th century	Author of several Monastic texts, including a "Commentary on the Asceticon of Abba Isaiah," a "Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers" (compiled by ʿEnanishoʿ [7th century]), "Discourses on Stillness," and a "Letter to Abqosh"	
Ishoʿpanah Qaṭraya	Unknown date	Author of several now-lost works	
Jacob Qaṭraya	Unknown date	Quoted by Isaac Shbadnaya but otherwise unknown	

Modern scholarship remains divided over a date for Aḥob. Those who advocate for a 10th-century setting, such as Chabot and Vosté, seem to largely reproduce Assemani's suggested date.[63] Other scholars (with the exception of Brock and Taeke Jansma[64]) have accepted a 6th-century setting or, at minimum, a pre-

7th century. He was a merchant-turned-monk who founded a monastery near Baruqa, a village in the area of Hira. No record survives of any written works attributed to him. See Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 95.

62 ʿAbdishoʿ's *Catalogue of Books* states that Isaac wrote seven books. See Habbi, *Fihris al-muʾallifīn taʾlīf li-ʿAbd Yašūʿ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 79, *597–600*.

63 Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5, n. 1 (Latin); François Nau, "Note sur un manuscrit syriaque (commentaire des Psaumes d'après Théodore de Mopsueste) appartenant à M. Delaporte," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 11, 1:3 [11] (1906): 314; Chabot, "Éclaircissements sur quelques points de la littérature syriaque," 274; Jacques Marie Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes dans la Pešitta surtout d'après la recension oriental," *Biblica* 25 (1944): 229; idem, "Les oracles de Balaam d'après Mar Išoʿdad de Merw (c. 850): (Num. 22–24)," *Biblica* 29:3 (1948): 191; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv. Rubens Duval misquotes Assemani with the suggestion of the year 900. See Duval, *La littérature syriaque: des origines jusqu'à la fin de cette littérature après la conquête par les Arabes au XIIIe siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique: Anciennes littératures chrétiennes 2; Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1899), 84 and idem, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

64 Jansma does not offer any suggested date for Aḥob but rather claims (somewhat strangely

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Islamic context.[65] Since the available data suggests a late 6th-century setting for Aḥob, this date will be used throughout this study.

1.1.4 *The Scholarly Milieu of Beth Qaṭraye*

Fiey and Brock have demonstrated that Syriac Christianity existed in Beth Qaṭraye from (at least) the late 4th to the late 9th centuries.[66] However, the above table reveals that all of Beth Qaṭraye's known writers flourished from the end of the 6th through the 7th centuries. Does such a remarkable concentration of learned writers, whose varied and sophisticated works range from biblical commentaries to monastic and liturgical writings, evidence the possibility of a school that existed in the Beth Qaṭraye region at that time?[67] Brock believes there was a school in Beth Qaṭraye, and he has suggested that it was conducted in one, or possibly multiple, location(s), principal of which would have been local churches and/or monasteries.[68] It is equally possible that this school could have been the result of learned families, i.e. uncles teaching their nephews.[69] Becker has shown that, from the mid-6th century onwards, several East Syriac schools (beyond the Schools of Edessa[70] and Nisibis[71]) emerged in the Mesopotamian region.[72] However, due to a lack of manuscript and archeological evidence for a specific school of Beth Qaṭraye, it is difficult to both argue for its existence and assess how it may have compared with the Schools

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on the basis of Anton Baumstark) that nothing is known about his life. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 86 and n. 45.

65 Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922), 132, n. 1; Luise Abramowski and Alan E. Goodman (eds.), *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts: Cambridge University Library Ms. Oriental 1319* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 19; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), xxix; Ter Haar Romeny, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," 12; idem, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 135–136, 150.

66 Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," 209–211 and Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 85. See also Introduction, Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye.

67 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 95–96 and Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 59.

68 Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 95.

69 Similar classroom settings existed in the School of Nisibis and the Upper Monastery in Mosul. See Becker, *Fear of God*, 92–93.

70 Due to the fact that the School of Edessa closed in 489, the School of Beth Qaṭraya could not have rivaled it as a contemporary School, though one could argue for a rivalry via their respective legacies.

71 For a further discussion of the Schools of Edessa and Nisibis, see Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

72 Becker, *Fear of God*, 155–203. See also Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

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of Edessa and Nisibis, though one could argue that the School of Nisibis was a model for what developed in Beth Qaṭraye.[73] While discussions of a school of Beth Qaṭraye are arguably problematic, one can reasonably state that the above-mentioned writers were part of a scholarly milieu in Beth Qaṭraye, which collectively produced some of the most technical and influential Syriac works of the late 6th and 7th centuries.[74] Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, in particular, reflect a knowledge of such subjects as linguistics and medicine, not to mention theology. This alone evidences some form of schooling, though it is unclear by what means (and where) he was educated. Compared with the prominent Syriac writers of the late 7th century (i.e. Isaac of Nineveh and Dadisho' Qaṭraya), the 8th century witnessed comparably little literary activity in the Beth Qaṭraye region.[75] Such a rapid decline in literary productivity suggests that the size of the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye significantly decreased by the early 8th century.

1.1.5 *Works*

As mentioned in Subsection 1.1.1. above, Aḥob is said to have authored several Old and New Testament commentaries. 'Abdisho' presents these works according to the various divisions of biblical books which they span:[76]

ܐܗܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܚܒܪ	Aḥob Qaṭraya composed
ܦܫܝܛܐ ܟܠܗ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܬ	a commentary of the whole New (Testament)
ܘܫܒܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܬ	and of the Pentateuch and all the Prophets,
ܠܡܡܪ ܡܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܠ	apart from a commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*.

Within this entry, the title of "*Beth Mawthbe*" (ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ) requires further description. *Beth Mawthbe* (meaning "The Book of Sessions") refers to the

73 Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 3–4, 155.

74 Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 59.

75 Similar to the 6th century, there are almost no surviving East Syriac exegetical sources originating from the first half of the 8th century; the main exegetical text that is extant from this time is the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. It is not until the end of the 8th century that the biblical commentaries of Theodore bar Koni and Isho' bar Nun are produced, both of which rely on earlier Greek and Syriac exegetical works. Neither of these writers were from Beth Qaṭraye. See Molenberg, "The Silence of the Sources," 145 and Sebastian Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed. (Gorgias Handbooks 7; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 76–77.

76 Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-'Abd Yašū' al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *793–796*.

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following biblical books: Job, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Song of Songs, and Bar Sira.[77] Brock has noted that the reasons surrounding the origin of the name *Beth Mawthbe* and its designated biblical books are unknown.[78] Concerning Aḥob's commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*, three scholia have been identified in Job 28:18, 1 Sam 8:1, 6 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18; the first is preserved in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, cols. 1645, *23*–1646, *1*, and the second and third are preserved in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22, ff. 83v–84r, lower margins, and in f. 133r, upper and outside margin. Other Aḥob scholia may be preserved in the *Beth Mawthbe* of the *Anonymous Commentary*, but, if so, they have been anonymized. Until all of the books preserved in the *Anonymous Commentary* are edited (which is beyond the scope of this present study), it is impossible to know whether any of its anonymized scholia could be shown, through comparative syntax and word choice, to have originated from Aḥob. There are several other East Syriac commentaries on the *Beth Mawthbe* from the early to high medieval periods, including Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*,[79] Isho' bar Nun's *Selected Questions*,[80] Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary on the Books of the Sessions*,[81] Ḥenanisho' bar Seroshway's (late 9th century) *Questions on the Economy*,[82] and the *Opuscula nestoriana*.[83] Due to their selectivity of pas-

77 Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed., 117 and Heleen Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures: The Church of the East in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces* (*1500–1850*), (Eastern Christian Studies 21; Louvain: Peeters, 2015), 228.

78 Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed., 117.

79 Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 190, *1*–261, *8*; 323, *6*–338, *7*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 181–229, 273–284; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (text), 58, *1*–70, *20*; 79, *1*–120, *25*; idem, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (trans.), 40–49, 56–88. For the citations from the *Beth Mawthbe* in the collections of excerpts annexed to the Urmiah recension and attributed to Sylvain of Qardu, see Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (trans.), 5, n. 2; 9, n. 2, 3, 5; 16, n. 6; 19, n. 11, 13; 22, n. 26; 23, n. 2; 26, n. 2; 35, n. 2, 3; 65, n. 4.

80 This work is preserved in one manuscript, which has not yet been edited. See ms. Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2017 (1706), ff. 26v, *13*–46r, *4*.

81 Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text) and idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.).

82 This work is preserved anonymously in ms. Vat. Syr. 150 (1709), ff. 107r, *14*–175r, *16*. Assemani suggested that its author was Ḥenanisho', due to the fact that 'Abdisho''s *Catalogue of Books* attributes him with the authorship of a work entitled, *Questions on the Text of Scripture*. G. J. Reinink critiqued Assemani's view and argued, on the basis of the comparable ms. Vat. Syr. 504 (1885), f. 78r and ms. Mingana Syr. 556 (ca. 1680), f. 101v, that the work could not be dated any earlier than the 12th century, because the youngest writer quoted in the work is John bar Zo'bi (12th–13th century), thus ruling out the possibility of Ḥenanisho' as its author. Unless it can be identified elsewhere, Ḥenanisho''s *Questions on the Test of Scripture* is likely lost. The *Questions on the Economy* remain unedited. See G. J. Reinink, *Studien zur Quellen- und Traditionsgeschichte des Evangelienkommentars der Gannat Bussame* (CSCO 414, Subs. 57; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1979), 185, n. 9;

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sages chosen for commentary, they do not always allow for a proper study between two given texts. For instance, while Bar Sira 14:12, 18 (and commentary) is found in the *Anonymous Commentary*,[84] no parallel text is found in any other East Syriac commentary on Bar Sira in the list of works above.[85]

Beyond the *Beth Mawthbe*, ʿAbdishoʿ's entry reveals that Aḥob authored a number of Old and New Testament commentaries. However, these exegetical works were arguably (and largely) produced in the form of scholia,[86] rather

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Lucas Van Rompay, "Ḥenanishoʿ bar Seroshway" in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 195; Sergey Minov, "Bar Sarōšway on Melchizedek: Reception of Extra-Biblical Material in the East-Syrian Tradition of Scriptural Exegesis," in Lorenzo DiTommaso, Matthias Henze, and William Adler (eds.), *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 26; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2018), 720–721.

83 Johann Georg Ernst Hoffmann (ed.), *Opuscula nestoriana syriace tradidit* (Kiel: G. von Maack / Paris: Maisonneuve, 1880), 95, *1*–107, *10*; 116, *23*–118, *20*. The original date of this work is unknown. See Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 571. Among other East Syriac commentaries on the *Beth Mawthbe*, Van den Eynde lists the *Gannat Bussame*. However, the *Gannat Bussame* is a commentary on the East Syriac lectionary. As such, it does not contain a lengthy commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*, though it does have scattered references to these books. For a list of the *Beth Mawthbe* passages used (from Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, and Bar Sira) in the *Gannat Bussame*, see G. J. Reinink (ed.), *Gannat Bussame 1: Die Adventssonntage* (CSCO 502, Syr. 212; Louvain: Peeters, 1988), 131, 133.

84 Ms. Vat. Syr. 578 (1917) contains, among other things, a commentary on Bar Sira on ff. 104v, *10*–114r, *16*. Arnold van Lantschoot suggested that this manuscript as a whole is likely a copy of ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22. I compared several folios of the two manuscripts and conclude that (aside from a slight difference of the beginning of Bar Sira) Van Lantschoot's theory is correct, at least concerning the main textual commentary on Bar Sira. Ms. Vat. Syr. 578 does not include the marginal comments frequently found in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22, especially Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion, which is the *Anonymous Commentary's* only commentary on Bar Sira 14:12, 18. See Arnold van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican (490–631), Barberini oriental et Neofiti* (Studi e Testi 243; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1965), 106–107.

85 Cf. Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 331, *4*–334, *9*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 279–281; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (text), 93, *14*–94, *9*; 113, *3*; idem, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (trans.), 66–67, 81, n. 5; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (text), 41, *16–17*; idem, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (trans.), 35, n. 3; Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text), 180, *26*–181, *14*; idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 214–215; G. J. Reinink (ed.), *Gannat Bussame 1: Die Adventssonntage* (CSCO 501, Syr. 211; Louvain: Peeters, 1988) 39, *21–23*; idem, *Gannat Bussame* (trans.), 47, n. 9; Hoffmann, *Opuscula nestoriana syriace tradidit*, 104, *5*–107, *10*.

86 For an edition of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works and other scholia, see Chapter 2, Section 2.2. Aḥob of Qatar's Exegetical Works.

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than continuous commentaries.[87] With one exception, none of these works have survived in their entirety. In the Syriac manuscript tradition, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*—which is his only complete (and undisputed) work to have survived intact—is included in a diverse collection of Psalm-related documents that precedes the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?).[88] This anonymous collection of documents bears the name, *Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord*, which was edited by Vandenhoff (with a Latin translation) in 1899.[89] However, his edition, which serves as an Exemplar, is based on a single (otherwise unknown) Syriac manuscript that was produced in Alqosh in 1891.[90] It is unclear if Vandenhoff was aware of other (lost or extant) manuscripts that contain the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*. In order to discuss the controversies surrounding the authorship of select parts of this text, its individual documents' names, including page and line numbers, are listed in the following table, according to the Vandenhoff Exemplar:[91]

Document 1 Aḥob Qaṭraya's *Cause of the Psalms* (3, *1*–9, *8*)

Document 2 (Anonymous), A brief interpretation of the Psalms adapted from the divine dispensation through history[92] (9, *9*–11, *19*)

87 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

88 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* was also transmitted independent of the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*. However, the only known instance of this is preserved in ms. Alqosh 80 (1881), which is inaccessible.

89 Hereafter shortened to the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*. It is also preserved in ms. British Library, Or. 9354, ms. Mingana Syr. 58, ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121, and ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. It should be noted that the manuscript tradition does not always follow Vandenhoff's base text.

90 In September and October of 1896, Vandenhoff copied (at least parts of) his edition's base manuscript (presumably in Rome) from a manuscript in the possession of Father Samuel Giamil, who brought it with him from Alqosh. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 3–4 (Latin). For the remainder of this study, the Vandenhoff Exemplar's date will be cited according to its base manuscript's production date of 1891, rather than its publication date of 1899.

91 The page and line numbers in the table follow the Syriac portion of the Vandenhoff Exemplar, and the document titles largely follow Vandenhoff's Latin summary. For the latter, see idem, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5–8 (Latin).

92 While Vandenhoff hints at the origin of this Document, Van den Eynde was the first to state that it was an extract from the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* (9th century), which was edited by Richard Hugh Connolly. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 6 (Latin); Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv–xxxv, xl; Richard Hugh Connolly (ed.), *Anonymi auctoris Expositio officiorum ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta* (CSCO 64, 71, 72, Syr, 25, 28, 29; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1911, 1913). Van Rompay's suggested line numbers (where Vandenhoff's edition equals Connolly's editions) are amended in the following: Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 9, *11*–11, *19* (Syriac) / 20, *20*–22, *9* (Latin) = Connolly

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Document 3 (Anonymous), An interpretation of the persons by whom the prophet David spoke those Psalms[93]

Document 4 (Anonymous), Why is Psalm 118 arranged according to the letters of the alphabet?[94] (12, *1*–*20*)

Document 5 Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms* (13, *1*–15, *19*)

Document 6 Psalm 151[95] (15, *20*–16, *12*)

Document 7 (Anonymous), A refutation of the ones who do not reverently approach the interpretation of the divine Scriptures, especially Origen[96] (16, *13*–18, *5*)

Document 8 (Anonymous), The names of the most eminent interpreters of the sacred Scriptures[97] (18, *6*–19, *4*)

Due to similarities in the text, Alphonse Mingana and Vosté believed Document 2 was a continuation of Document 1 and so credited it to Aḥob.[98] Both further

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(CSCO, 64) 117, *5*–118, *23* (Syriac) / (CSCO, 71) 93, *23*–94, *30* (Latin); Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 22, *10*–23, *18* (Latin) is a summary of Connolly (CSCO, 71) 94, *31*–106, *3* (Latin). Van den Eynde further suggested that the remainder of Vandenhoff's Document 2—23, *18*–24, *4* (Latin)—is generalized in Connolly (CSCO, 72) 159, *15*–*28* (Syriac) and (CSCO, 72) 144, *4*–*18* (Latin). Van Rompay has noted that this section is missing from ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xl, n. 138 and Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), x, n. 26. It should also be noted that Document 2 in the Vandenhoff Exemplar is only a fraction of the length of the equivalent Document 2 preserved in ms. British Library, Or. 9354, ms. Mingana Syr. 58, ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121, and ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318.

93 Vandenhoff briefly describes this Document but gives neither the Syriac text nor a Latin translation of it. Vosté edited part of this Document, using the (now inaccessible) Alqosh *olim* 21 (1893). See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 6 (Latin) and Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes," 228–233.

94 Van den Eynde recognized this Document (which has a lacuna at the end) to have originated from Isho' bar Nun's *Selected Questions*. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxv.

95 Vandenhoff only hints that this Document is based on the Septuagint. Van den Eynde states it more clearly and highlights the variants in verses 2 and 3. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 26, n. 1 (Latin) and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxv.

96 This treatise should not be confused with the similar (though longer) treatise which was edited by Van Rompay from ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. For the latter, see idem, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (text), 1, *6*–14, *10* and Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), 1–18.

97 The order of these Documents is slightly different in ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. With the addition of an extract of Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* and some brief notes, as well as a list of authors who commented on the Psalms, (both of which, respectively, begin and end the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*), the extract of the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* (Document 2 above) is arranged before Aḥob Qaṭraya's *Cause of the Psalms* (Document 1 above). All other Documents follow the same order as above. See Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), ix–xi.

98 Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbroke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* 1: *Syriac and*

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argued that Aḥob authored Document 3, principally based on its anonymity and placement in conjunction with Document 2.[99] However, Vandenhoff suggested and Van den Eynde later demonstrated that the source of Document 2 was not Aḥob but the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* (9th century).[100] Ter Haar Romeny insists that this discovery invalidates Mingana and Vosté's claim that Aḥob could be the author of Document 3.[101] While dismissing Aḥob's authorship of Document 3, Van den Eynde does maintain that Documents 2 and 4 originated from Aḥob for similar reasons that Mingana and Vosté argued for Document 3: they are anonymous and placed after a known Aḥob writing (i.e. Document 1). However, at the same time that he makes this assertion, Van den Eynde admits that both treatises can be traced to known sources other than Aḥob, namely the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* (Document 2) and Isho' bar Nun's *Selected Questions* (Document 4).[102]

While the source of Document 4 has been established, Documents 2 and 3 need to be critically evaluated to see if they could have originated from Aḥob.[103] I compared Document 2 with Document 1 and noted several shared themes between both Documents, including the following:

1) David as prophet and king
2) The use of the Psalms more than other biblical books in the liturgy
3) The many genres contained in the Psalms
4) The Creator and his creation
5) Select teachings of the Church Fathers concerning the Psalms

Aside from common East Syriac words utilized to describe the Psalms and their use in the Church, such as "prophecy" (ܢܒܝܐ) and "Christ" (ܡܫܝܚܐ), par-

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Garshūni Manuscripts (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933), col. 157 and Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes," 228.

99 In ms. Mingana Syr. 58, the equivalent of Vandenhoff's Document 2 follows Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*; in Vosté's edition, it precedes Aḥob's treatise. See Mingana, *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 158 and Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes," 228. See also Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 148–149.

100 Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 6 (Latin) and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv–xxxv, xl. See also Connolly (CSCO, 64) 117, *5*–118, *23* (Syriac) / (CSCO, 71) 93, *23*–106, *3* (Latin) / (CSCO, 72) 159, *15–28* (Syriac) / (CSCO, 72) 144, *4–18* (Latin).

101 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 149.

102 Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv–xxxv (esp. n. 115), xl. See also ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318, ff. 6v, *5*–12r, *27*; 17v, *1–12*.

103 Due to Assemani's influence, Van den Eynde believed Aḥob lived in the late 10th century (see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date) and therefore concluded that the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae*, which was written a century earlier, was likely its source. However, if Aḥob is situated in the late 6th century (as this study argues), then it is at least plausible that the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* borrowed this text from Aḥob.

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allel phraseology is rare.[104] The prose style of both Documents is comparable, though (with the exception of the last 11 lines) the broad syntax of Document 2 is less complicated than Document 1. Document 2 also uses far less imagery than does Document 1, especially concerning the usefulness of the Psalms for people. Perhaps the most telling aspect of Document 2 is its passing allusion to previously discussed material, which is not found in Document 1. It states: "In 60 *marmyata*, 6 (orders) of rational (beings are) bound (and) joined fitly together in an equal and straightforward number, as it was said by us above: a person, a legion of demons, three spiritual Churches, and God the Creator of all" (ܒܟܠܗܝ ܡܪܝܝܬܐ ܕܐܬ ܡܬܚܒܫ ܡܬܩܪܢ ܘܡܫܬܟܠ ܒܡܫܘܝܘܬ ܘܒܡܝܬܪ ܡܫܘܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠܝܢ ܠܥܠ. ܐܢܫ ܓܝܘܢ ܕܫܐܕ ܘܬܠܬ ܥܕ̈ܬ ܪܘܚܢ̈ܝܬ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܟܠ̈ܗ ܘܒܪ̈ܝܬ ܟܠ ܓܝܘܢ ܕܫܐܕ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܟ̈ܠ). While God as Creator is briefly mentioned in Document 1, none of the other five orders are cited in any way. In short, Document 2 is an abbreviated form of a longer introduction, and the simplest explanation for its origin is that it has been taken from a different source. Furthermore (and at best), Document 2 appears to be written in the spirit of Aḥob, with a central focus on various discussions of the numeration and divisions of the Psalms. Though it is unclear if the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* is borrowing Document 2 from (an) earlier source(s), I would argue that Aḥob is likely not its author.

Concerning Document 3, its format and purpose are completely different from that of Document 1 (or 2). Vosté described it as "a kind of logical index, a systematic classification of the Psalms according to Theodorian exegesis."[105] Since Vosté only presents part of this Document in his edition, I will base my comparative observations on the two oldest complete versions of this Document, which are found in ms. British Library Or. 9354 (1895) and ms. Mingana Syr. 58 (1895), both of which present this Document in two parts: 1) a classification of the Psalms according to 17 categories and 2) a listing of persons by whom the prophet David spoke many of the Psalms.[106] Examples from each

104 The best example is a description of Christ as a descendant of David. Document 1 (Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 8, *18*, *21–22* [Syriac]) states, "David, then, is the heart of God … because Christ is from his seed" (ܗܟܝ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܠܒܐ … ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ).

Document 2 (Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 10, *17–19* [Syriac]) states, "By his [i.e. David's] memory, the heart of God is preserved in Church, in that Christ (appeared) from him" (ܒܗܝ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܛܪ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢܗ).

105 Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes," 229.

106 This is a development in the textual tradition from Document 3 in Vandenhoff's edition, where (at least part of) it is said to list the people by whom the prophet David spoke the Psalms. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 6 (Latin).

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part include the following: 1) "Concerning admonition. 1 psalm. Concerning the people who are in Babylon. 65 psalms" (ܠܚ. ܥܢܝܬܐ ܫܡ : ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܚ ܥܢܝܬܐ ܕܒܒܠ. ܟܠ ܡܙ ܠܚ)[107] and 2) "(Psalm) 61. God heard my prayer. A prophecy about those things that were done for them. (Psalm) 63. My God, you are my God. A prophecy of the virtuous things that are in them" (❖ ܡܙ ܠܚ ܥܢܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܙ ܠܚ ❖ ܡܙ ܠܐܠܗܝ ܐܠܗܝ ܐܢܬ. ܥܢܝܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ ❖ ܥܒ).[108] These examples reveal that the writing style of Document 3 is terse and devoid of distinctive imagery. The thought flow follows standard East Syriac understandings of the Psalms and their headings, especially in the second part. While it is possible that Aḥob could have authored this Document, there is no evidence—such as parallel phraseology with Document 1—on which to base this claim. I agree with Van Rompay, who insists that "the attribution of this text to Aḥob Qaṭraya (by Mingana … and Vosté …) has no solid foundation."[109]

In addition to placing Aḥob in the late 10th century, Vandenhoff suggested that he was the compiler of the collective work, the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*.[110] However, if Aḥob is resituated to the late 6th century (as is argued above), then he should be viewed as an earlier contemporary of Nathniel of Shirzor (the source of Document 5) and living a couple centuries before Ishoʿ bar Nun (the source of Document 4) and the composition of the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* (the source of Document 2). Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.1., Nathniel uses Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* to produce his own *Cause of the Psalms*.[111] The combination of these details suggests that Aḥob could not have been the final compiler of the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*.[112] Thus, Vandenhoff's claim that Aḥob compiled the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms* is untenable.

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107 Ms. British Library, Or. 9354, f. 11r, *9–10* and ms. Mingana Syr. 58, f. 11r, *16–17*.

108 Ms. British Library, Or. 9354, f. 12r, *12–13*, including an additional note in the margin, and ms. Mingana Syr. 58, f. 12r, *18–20*.

109 Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), x, n. 28. For a discussion of several other disputed texts connected to Aḥob, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3. Disputed Scholia.

110 Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5 (esp. n. 1)–6 (Latin).

111 Nathniel may have also used Aḥob's Psalm scholia in his *Commentary on Psalms*, whose existence ʿAbdishoʿ later records. However, since this work is no longer extant, this cannot be confirmed. See Habbi, *Fihris al-muʾallifīn taʾlīf li-ʿAbd Yašūʿ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 115, *985–988*.

112 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 144–150 and idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 93, n. 8. For a brief discussion of the likely compiler of the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

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Along with his *Cause of the Psalms*, Aḥob's scholia are preserved in several later writings, primarily the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* and the Arabic biblical commentaries of Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-ʿIrāqī (d. 1043). Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentaries were translated into Gəʿəz and subsequently into Amharic, from which they were incorporated into the *Andĕmta* commentary tradition.[113] Within the Syriac tradition, Aḥob's exegetical works are also preserved in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*, the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*, Isho'dad of Merv's biblical commentaries, the *Anonymous Commentary*, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*,[114] and Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.[115]

1.2 Conclusion

Aḥob of Qatar is an early East Syriac biblical commentator. While his surviving biographical data (in both Syriac and Arabic sources) is extremely fragmented, it is likely that he was born in Qatar and later moved to Seleucia, where he became known for his biblical interpretations in the late 6th century. From an early point in the manuscript tradition, confusion developed over the spelling of his name, arguably due to the fact that ܐܚܘܒ is an unusual Syriac name and similar to the more recognizable biblical name of ܐܒܪܗܡ. Aḥob represents the earliest known individual within the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, which was an influential group of East Syriac writers who produced a variety of exegetical, monastic, liturgical, and other technical works in the late 6th and 7th centuries.[116] Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works reflect a thorough knowledge of the Peshitta text, as well as a familiarity with such topics as medicine, linguistics, and cosmology. Such varied insights evidence a formal education, though the manner and specific location of his schooling are unknown. While certain scholars have suggested that two anonymous works—namely Documents 2 and 3, which precede the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*—

113 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 150. For a brief description of the nature of the *Andĕmta* commentary tradition, see Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen, *Traditional Ethiopian Exegesis of the Book of Psalms* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 36; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 1–8.

114 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

115 Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 201–207, 210–211; idem, "Nature of the Church (of the East) in Ishaq Shbadnaya's 'Poem on the Divine Economy,'" *The Harp* 27 (2011): 197–198; Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 178–184, 190–191.

116 Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 59.

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originate from Aḥob, these proposals cannot be sustained upon a close comparison with his attributed Old Testament exegetical works. Aḥob's Old and New Testament exegetical works are preserved in Syriac, Arabic, Gəʿəz, and Amharic manuscript traditions.

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CHAPTER 2

Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

This chapter will explore the extent of Aḥob of Qatar's extant Old Testament exegetical works, which are largely in the form of scholia. The first section will collect all known Aḥob Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition. The second section will present an edition of these writings, and disputed scholia and spurious scholia connected to Aḥob will also be assessed.

2.1 Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition

In order to reconstruct what can be known of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition, the edited texts and unedited texts containing his Old Testament exegetical works will first be listed. Both types of texts will focus primarily on the fragments of Aḥob's exegetical works that are preserved within them, and both types of texts will be described by means of a table. For the edited texts, this will include a siglum for the text, its name, date of publication, page/column and line numbers, and the specific Aḥob work, scholion, or fragment preserved. For the unedited texts, this will focus on the relevant manuscripts and will include a siglum for the text, its/their name, date of origin, page/folio and line numbers, and the specific Aḥob work or scholion preserved. Each table will be listed chronologically according to the date(s) of the original writer or, if the writer is unknown, according to the production date of the manuscript(s), if known.

The following eight writers and manuscript traditions preserve Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition:

1) Nathniel of Shirzor's (ca. 600) *Cause of the Psalms*
2) The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century)
3) Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* (792/793)
4) The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?)
5) Isho'dad of Merv's (fl. ca. 850) *Commentary on Genesis*, *1Samuel*, and *Psalms*
6) The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century)[1]

1 The dates given here (as well as in Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition) for

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7) Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th century-early 20th century)
8) Isaac Shbadnaya's (fl. 1439/1440) prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.[2]

Nathniel of Shirzor is the earliest writer to preserve fragments of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in an anonymized form) in his own *Cause of the Psalms*. In total, Nathniel uses five Aḥob fragments in his *Cause of the Psalms*:

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Page and line numbers[3]	Specific Aḥob work
N	"Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms: Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*"	2022	102, *5–12*, *13* 102, *12–13*, *13*–103, *16* 103, *16–22* 103, *29–35* 104, *38–39*	*Cause of the Psalms*

The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* is the earliest manuscript tradition to preserve Aḥob's known Genesis scholia (albeit anonymously). It contains two Aḥob scholia:

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Page and line numbers[4]	Specific Aḥob scholion
R	*Le commentaire sur Genèse–Exode 9,32 du manuscrit* (*olim*) *Diyarbakir 22*	1986	73, *25*–74, *15* 128, *17*	Genesis 15:9–10 Genesis 50:10

the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, and the *Anonymous Commentary* refer to the earliest form of these commentaries and not to the date(s) of their extant physical manuscript(s).

2 Brief introductions to these East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions are presented in Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

3 These page and line numbers are taken from Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms."

4 These page and line numbers are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text).

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Theodore bar Koni is the only known 8th-century writer to use anonymized fragments of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, which are preserved in his *Scholion*. Bar Koni's Aḥob fragments are found in the *Scholion's* Seert and Urmiah recensions, both of which use nearly identical wording.[5] None of these Aḥob fragments are preserved in the collections of excerpts annexed to the *Scholion* and attributed to Sylvain of Qardu.[6] Bar Koni's Genesis section and Psalm section contain a total of five Aḥob fragments:

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Page and line numbers[7]	Specific Aḥob work or scholion
T	*Theodorus bar Kōnī. Liber scholiorum*, I	1910	130, *22*–131, *1* 131, *4*–*6* 131, *11*–*14* 131, *17*–*18*[8] 353, *14*–354, *8*	Genesis 15:9–10 *Cause of the Psalms*

The most important Syriac witness to Aḥob's Psalm-related writings is the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (hereafter shortened to the DGC),[9] which preserves Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (at the beginning of its preluding documents) and eighteen of his Psalm scholia,[10] several of which are lengthy. Concerning the

5 Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 130, *16*–131, *21*; 353, *14*–354, *8*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 138–139, 294–295; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (text), 42, *18*–*22*; 121, *11*–*12*; idem, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (trans.), 28; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv and 4, n. 1.

6 Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (trans.), v–x, 71.

7 These page and line numbers are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1).

8 Bar Koni borrows four Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Gen 15:9–10.

9 There will be scattered instances in this study where the DGC will continue to be referred to as the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*.

10 Van den Eynde surveyed ms. Mingana Syr. 58 and reported that there were 19 Aḥob scholia in it: 5 long passages inserted into the main text and 14 marginal notes. However, after an in-depth analysis of this manuscript, I would argue that it contains only 18 Aḥob scholia: 6 long passages inserted into the main text and 12 marginal notes. 2 of these long passages are divided into two parts and spread across two pages. Other manuscripts containing the DGC do not always follow this model. For instance, the total number of Aḥob scholia in the Vandenhoff Exemplar cannot be known, because it does not reflect its base manuscript in its entirety. Furthermore, ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121 preserves 19 Aḥob scholia (two of which, though on separate pages, are identical), while ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318 only preserves 16 Aḥob scholia. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvi, the DGC table

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accessible DGC manuscripts which contain Aḥob's Psalm-related writings,[11] there are five, which are the same manuscripts that preserve Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*:

Siglum	Name of manuscript	Date of origin	Page/folio and line numbers	Specific Aḥob work or scholion
V	Vandenhoff Exemplar[12]	1891	3, *1*–9, *8*	*Cause of the Psalms*
			34, n. 4	Psalm 45 Prologue
			38, n. 7	Psalm 45:9
			46, *11*–47, *5*	Psalm 110 Prologue
			48, n. 2	Psalm 110:3
L	British Library, Or. 9354	1895	1v, *1*–3v, *16*	*Cause of the Psalms*
			20v^{mg}	Psalm 5:4
			44v^{mg}	Psalm 29:9
			46r^{mg}	Psalm 31:6
			56r^{mg}	Psalm 39:2
			56v, *7–26*	Psalm 39:4–6
			57r, *14–26*	Psalm 39:6
			58v^{mg}	Psalm 40:8
			60r, *19–26*	Psalm 42:2
			63v^{mg}	Psalm 45 Prologue
			64r^{mg}	Psalm 45:9
			67r^{mg}	Psalm 48:4
			78r, *8–17*	Psalm 58:4
			78r^{mg}	Psalm 58:5–6
			87v^{mg}	Psalm 68:14
			87v^{mg}	Psalm 68:16–17
			128r, *4–26*	Psalm 104:2–3
			132r^{mg}	Psalm 105:17–19
			140r, *21*–140v, *6*	Psalm 110 Prologue
			140v^{mg}	Psalm 110:3

below, and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.2. Anonymous Hebrew and Greek Readings in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*.

11 For a list of the inaccessible and destroyed DGC manuscripts, see Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

12 Vandenhoff's handwritten edition only preserves portions of his base text. See idem, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 3, *1*–65, *20* (Syriac).

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(*cont.*)

Siglum	Name of manuscript	Date of origin	Page/folio and line numbers	Specific Aḥob work or scholion
M	Mingana Syr. 58	1895	1v, *1*–3v, *16*	*Cause of the Psalms*
			20v^{mg}	Psalm 5:4
			45r^{mg}	Psalm 29:9
			46r^{mg}	Psalm 31:6
			56v^{mg}	Psalm 39:2
			56v, *20*–*26*	Psalm 39:4–5
			57r, *5*–*26*	Psalm 39:6
			58v^{mg}	Psalm 40:8
			60v, *2*–*11*	Psalm 42:2
			63v^{mg}	Psalm 45 Prologue
			64r^{mg}	Psalm 45:9
			67r^{mg}	Psalm 48:4
			77r, *22*–*28*	Psalm 58:4
			77v^{mg}	Psalm 58:5–6
			86r^{mg}	Psalm 68:14
			86r^{mg}	Psalm 68:16–17
			126r, *6*–*25*	Psalm 104:2–3
			126v, *6*–*7*	
			130r^{mg}	Psalm 105:17–19
			138r, *28*–138v, *13*	Psalm 110 Prologue
			139r, *3*–*7*	Psalm 110:3
S	Strasbourg Syr. 4121	1898	1r, *1*–5r, *5*	*Cause of the Psalms*
			38r^{mg}	Psalm 5:4
			85r^{mg}	Psalm 29:9
			87r^{mg}	Psalm 31:6
			106v^{mg}	Psalm 39:2
			107r, *15*–*21*	Psalm 39:4–6
			108r, *1*–*8*	Psalm 39:6
			110r^{mg}	Psalm 40:8
			111r^{mg}	Psalm 40:10
			112v^{mg}	Psalm 42:2
			118v–119r^{mg}	Psalm 45 Prologue
			120r^{mg}	Psalm 45:9
			126r^{mg}	Psalm 48:4

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(*cont.*)

Siglum	Name of manuscript	Date of origin	Page/folio and line numbers	Specific Aḥob work or scholion
			145r, *9–14*	Psalm 58:4
			145r^{mg}	Psalm 58:5–6
			162r^{mg}	Psalm 68:14
			162r^{mg}	Psalm 68:16–17
			235r, *13–21*	Psalm 104:2–3
			240r^{mg}	Psalm 105:17–19
			256r, *9–18*	Psalm 110 Prologue
			256v^{mg}–257r^{mg}	Psalm 110:3
C	Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318	1890s	12v, *1*–14r, *20*	*Cause of the Psalms*
			24r^{mg}	Psalm 5:4
			44r^{mg}	Psalm 29:9
			45r^{mg}	Psalm 31:6
			54r^{mg}	Psalm 39:2
			54r, *21–27*	Psalm 39:4–6
			54v, *1–10*	Psalm 39:6
			57r^{mg}	Psalm 42:2
			59v^{mg}	Psalm 45 Prologue
			60r^{mg}	Psalm 45:9
			72r, *26–29*	Psalm 58:4
			72v^{mg}	Psalm 58:5–6
			80r^{mg}	Psalm 68:14
			80r^{mg}	Psalm 68:16–17
			113v, *12–20*	Psalm 104:2–3
			116r^{mg}	Psalm 105:17–19
			123r, *26*–123v, *9*	Psalm 110 Prologue
			123v^{mg}	Psalm 110:3

Later in the same century, Isho'dad of Merv produced a *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*, in which (among many sources) he selectively references Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works on several occasions, though he never cites him by name. In Van den Eynde's editions of these three Isho'dad Old Testament commentaries, he footnoted many (though not all of the) instances where Isho'dad uses Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical

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works.[13] Overall, Isho'dad references Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works more than any other known Syriac writer:[14]

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Page and line numbers[15]	Specific Aḥob work or scholion
I	*Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, I: Genèse*	1950	149, *6–14*, *16–26* 222, *8*	Genesis 15:9–10 Genesis 50:10
I[2]	*Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, III: Livres des Sessions*	1962	47, *15–21*	1 Samuel 8:1, 6
I[3]	*Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, VI: Psaumes*	1981	3, *4–10* 4, *2–4* 4, *16–17* 4, *21–22* 4, *22–23* 4, *26–27* 5, *4*[16] 24, *15–18* 49, *10–12* 50, *26*–51, *1* 59, *17–18* 59, *22*–60, *1* 60, *1–5* 60, *18* 60, *20–21*	*Cause of the Psalms* Psalm 5:4 Psalm 29:9 Psalm 31:6 Psalm 39:4–6

13 The footnoted instances include the following: Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), 161, n. 7; 241 and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv; 3, n. 1; 4, n. 1; 5, n. 2–3; 58, n. 11; 60, n. 2; 69, n. 3–4; 70, n. 6; 72, n. 4; 74, n. 2; 112, n. 15; 113, n. 16; 114, n. 23; 115, n. 28; 161, n. 1; 167, n. 4; 172, n. 1; 173, n. 3.

14 If other Syriac writers, either before or after Isho'dad, quoted Aḥob more than Isho'dad, their manuscripts have either not survived or have not yet been properly catalogued.

15 These page and line numbers are taken from Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text); Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text); idem, *Psaumes* (text).

16 Isho'dad borrows seven Aḥob fragments for his Psalm introduction.

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(*cont.*)

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Page and line numbers	Specific Aḥob work or scholion
			60, *26*–61, *2*	
			61, *3*–*7*	
			61, *7*–*11*[17]	
			62, *22*–*23*	Psalm 40:8
			64, *3*–*9*	Psalm 42:2
			70, *2*	Psalm 45:9
			101, *25*–*26*	Psalm 68:14
			102, *4*–*5*[18]	
			103, *9*–*10*	Psalm 68:16–17
			147, *8*–*11*	Psalm 104:2–3
			147, *15*–*19*[19]	
			152, *23*–*24*	Psalm 105:19
			157, *23*–158, *4*	Psalm 110 Prologue
			159, *24*	Psalm 110:3
			159, *28*–*30*	
			160, *11*–*12*[20]	

The *Anonymous Commentary* (hereafter shortened to the AC)[21] *on Genesis*, *Numbers*, *1Samuel*, and *Bar Sira* preserves five Aḥob Old Testament scholia:

Siglum	Name of manuscript	Date of origin	Folio and line numbers	Specific Aḥob scholion
D	(*olim*) Diyarbakir 22[22]	11th–12th century	53v, *1*–*5*	Numbers 21:19
			83v^{mg}–84r^{mg}	1Samuel 8:1, 6
			133r^{mg}	Bar Sira 14:12, 18

17 Isho'dad borrows eight Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 39:4–6.
18 Isho'dad borrows two Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 68:14.
19 Isho'dad borrows two Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 104:2–3.
20 Isho'dad borrows three Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 110:3.
21 There will be scattered instances in this study where the AC will continue to be referred to as the *Anonymous Commentary*.
22 While Diyarbakir 22 is a manuscript comprising a commentary on the whole Old and

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(*cont.*)

Siglum	Name of manuscript	Date of origin	Folio and line numbers	Specific Aḥob scholion
O	Mosul 1[23]	1701	17v, *2–3*	Genesis 15:10
			17v, *18*–18r, *19*	Genesis 15:9–10
			47v, *16–17*	Genesis 50:10
			377v, *19*–378r, *1*[24]	Numbers 21:19

New Testament, the shorthand name "Diyarbakir 22" generally refers to the Gen 1:1-Exod 9:32 section of this manuscript, which is the oldest part. The rest of the manuscript contains the *AC* and begins on f. 29r with a brief section on Exod 9:28 before continuing on with select verses from Exod 10. See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xi, xiii and idem, *Anonymous Commentary on the Pentateuch: Exodus*.

23 Youbert Ieo, a deacon in Iraq, recently discovered a copy of the *AC on the Pentateuch*, namely, ms. CPB 00445 (dated to 1717) of the Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon Collection, which (as noted by Father Columba Stewart in an email) "suffered terrible damage when it was placed in an underground chamber before the 2003 invasion" of Iraq. I compared CPB 00445 with ms. Mosul 1 and found that they are exactly alike, down to the number and use of words on each line. I concluded that CPB 00445 is either ms. Mosul 1 or an exact copy of it. Van Rompay agrees with the first part of my assessment and believes the two to be the same manuscript, as suggested to Youbert via email. If this proposal is accepted, Van Rompay has further suggested (in the same email) that the discrepancy of dates between ms. Mosul 1 and CPB 00445 may be due to two separate colophons. The emails consulted are as follows: Youbert Ieo, email message to Lucas Van Rompay, 2 February 2019; Lucas Van Rompay, email message to Seth M. Stadel, 4 February 2019; Seth M. Stadel, email message to Lucas Van Rompay, 4 February 2019; Columba Stewart, email message to Lucas Van Rompay, 5 February 2019; Lucas Van Rompay, email message to Youbert Ieo, 5 February 2019; Virtual Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, "CPB 00445," accessed 31 January 2021, https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/503239.

24 For the Aḥob scholia, as preserved in ms. Mosul 1, I rely on two sources, which represent two stages of the same manuscript: Van Rompay's photoprints of Genesis and the Virtual Hill Museum & Manuscript Library's digitized copy of Numbers in ms. CPB 00445. According to Addai Scher's catalogue, Mosul 1 is divided into two parts: the Peshitta text of the Pentateuch and a commentary on the difficult words in the Pentateuch (i.e. the *AC on the Pentateuch*). Van Rompay's photoprints begin their numbering with the *AC on the Pentateuch*, while CPB 00445 begins its numbering with the Peshitta text of the Pentateuch. This accounts for the significant range in folio numbers, as represented in the table above. Van Rompay's photoprints of Genesis (and Exodus) are the only known copy of ms. Mosul 1 prior to its severe damaging, which has mutilated the top half of every folio. CPB 00445 is the only source for what remains of Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion in ms. Mosul 1. The line numbers of CPB 00445, ff. 377v–378r have been reconstructed, based on Van Rompay's photoprints, the folios of which consistently show 24 lines of writ-

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Siglum	Name of manuscript	Date of origin	Folio and line numbers	Specific Aḥob scholion
K	Kirkuk 8	1706	20v, *19–20* 21r, *16*–21v, *20* 56v, *17–18* 158v, *16*–159r, *1*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9–10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
P	St. Petersburg (*olim* Diettrich 2)	Ca. 1700	23r, *19–20* 23v, *9*–24r, *5* 49r, *8–9* 118v, *10–14*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9–10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
A	Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21[25]	1886	18v, *3* 18v, *17*–19r, *18* 49r, *4–6* 139r, *6–12*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15-9-10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
V	Vat. Syr. 578[26]	1917	6v, *1–2* 53r, *5–8*	Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
V^2	Vat. Syr. 502	1926	20v, *17–18* 21r, *11*–21v, *11* 52v, *15–16* 143r, *2–7*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9–10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19

ing, discounting the initial and final folios of the individual biblical books represented in the *AC on the Pentateuch*. Van Rompay's photoprints of Genesis equal CPB 00445 in the following manner: ff. 17v–18r = CPB 00445, ff. 262v–263r and ff. 47v–48r = CPB 00445, ff. 292v–293r. See Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul," *Revue des bibliothèques* 17 (1907): 227–228.

25 Ms. Aïn Qawa is likely the original name of ms. Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21, which was previously thought to be lost. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 73 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 139.

26 This manuscript begins with a discussion of Gen 43:14. It is unclear why the preceding sections of Genesis are not preserved.

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Siglum	Name of manuscript	Date of origin	Folio and line numbers	Specific Aḥob scholion
M^2	Mingana Syr. 553[27]	1930	12r, *3*	Genesis 15:10
			12r, *15*–12v, *6*	Genesis 15:9–10
			31v, *11–13*	Genesis 50:10
			89v, *10–14*	Numbers 21:19

Scattered among the entries of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* are eleven Aḥob (also Ayyub and Ḥob) scholia, each of which are used to describe a particular word, name, or phrase under discussion.[28] These Aḥob scholia are laid out alphabetically[29] in the following table:

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Column and line numbers[30]	Specific Aḥob scholion or fragment
B	*Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule: e pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit*, I–II	1901	223, *13–15*	Comment on ܐܗܠܩܗ
			397, *12–13*	ܚܠܥܝ
			1077, *16–18*	ܚܢܥ
			1143, *4*	ܚܩܨ

27 Abraham Levene published Gen 1–18 of this manuscript. For his brief discussion of Aḥob, see Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 10, 21. Mingana's catalogue does not account for Aḥob's Genesis text on f. 31v. See Mingana, *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 1023. Jansma seems to have partially misread Mingana's *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 1023, concerning ms. Mingana Syr. 553. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 87.

28 Duval conveniently lists the word entries, as well as their column and line numbers, in his brief description of Aḥob. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

29 Duval's description of Aḥob does not list his scholia in a consistently alphabetized order. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

30 These column and line numbers are taken from Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vols. 1–2).

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(*cont.*)

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Column and line numbers	Specific Aḥob scholion or fragment
			1212, *3–4*	ܠܚܗ̈ܕܒ̈ܝ
			1400, *5–6*	ܚܕ ܒ̈ܟܗ
			1407, *24*	ܚ̈ܕ ܚ̈ܕ
			1450, *5–6*	ܚܡ̈ܐ̈ܒ
			1645, *23*–1646, *1*	ܚܟܐܐܟ
			1937, *3–4*	ܥ̈ܐ̈
			2092, *3–4*	ܥ̈ܐ̈

Isaac Shbadnaya is the last known writer to utilize Aḥob scholia, which are preserved in his prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. While Shbadnaya credits three scholia to Aḥob in his prose commentary, only two of them are attributed solely to Aḥob:[31]

Siglum	Name of edition	Date of publication	Page and line numbers[32]	Specific Aḥob scholion
F	"The Future of the Past: The Reception of Syriac Qaṭraye Authors in Late Medieval Iraq"	2014	182, *2–16* 190, *9–14*	Calendrical Eschatological

31 For a discussion of the third scholion, which is partially credited to Aḥob, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion.

32 These page and line numbers are taken from Carlson, "The Future of the Past."

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2.2 Aḥob of Qatar's Exegetical Works

In the following section, Aḥob's exegetical works are divided into four categories: 1) Old Testament exegetical works, 2) Other scholia, 3) Disputed scholia, and 4) Spurious scholia. Each scholion, as well as Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, will be presented in its edited form[33] in Syriac or Arabic, with a facing English translation.

2.2.1 *Old Testament Exegetical Works*

The following presents an edition and English translation of the 35 known Old Testament scholia attributed to Aḥob, as well as his one complete work, *Cause of the Psalms*. These are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1. The exceptions to this order are as follows: 1) the *Cause of the Psalms* will be placed before Aḥob's Psalms scholia, 2) the Tarshish Scholion will be placed after his Psalms scholia, and 3) the Nebuchadnezzar Scholion will be placed after his Daniel scholia.

2.2.1.1 Genesis Scholia

Genesis 15:9–10[34]

Manuscripts: O, ff. 17v, *2–3*, *18*–18r, *19*; K, ff. 20v, *19–20*, 21r, *16*–21v, *20*; P, ff. 23r, *19–20*, 23v, *9*–24r, *5*; A, ff. 18v, *3*, *17*–19r, *18*; V², ff. 20v, *17–18*, 21r, *11*–21v, *11*; M², ff. 12r, *3*, *15*–12v, *6*

Editions: R, pp. 73, *25*–74, *15* and I, p. 149, *6–14*, *16–26*

ܥܡ ܕܬܟ. ܥܓܠܐ ¹ܕܡܫܟ [15:9] But by [15:9] the *calf*, he[35] indicates that
³ʳܕܡܨܪ ܕܥܠ ²ܗܘ ³ʳܕܡܨܪ generation, which first entered Egypt,

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¹ROKPAV²M²] c. sey I ²RIOKPAV²] c. sey M² ³RI] ܕܥܠ ܕܡܨܪ OKPAV²M²

---

33 The base manuscript for each Aḥob writing is the first (or only) manuscript listed for that particular exegetical work.

34 Levene published this text (with an English translation) from a single manuscript, namely M². See Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 3, 47, *15*–46, *6*, 88–89. In editing all known versions of this text, my translation differs in several places from Levene's. While it does preserve an early usage of this text, the wording of T is too dissimilar, in comparison with the more reliable witnesses (RIOKPAV²M²), to be used for editing this Aḥob scholion. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsections 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9–10 and 3.3.1. Genesis 15:9–10 and Chapter 4, Subsections 4.1.1. Genesis 15:9–10 and 4.2.1. Genesis 15:9–10.

35 Namely, Moses.

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ܕܐ ܕܟܡ ܒܟܪܟܬ ܠܟܝܢ.
ܠ ܟܠ ܬܒܝܪ ܚܕ ܗܘ ܕܐ
ܟܠܐ ܟܝ ܕܐ ܒܟܪ ܕ
ܕܐ ܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܟܪ ܕܐ ܒܪ[4]
[7]ܡ[6] ܕܒܟܪ[5] ܕ
R p. 74 .ܡܒܪ | ܒܪ[9] ܟܠ ܒܟܪ[8] ܕ
ܟܠ ܟ ܟܝܢ ܒܪ ܕ
K f. 21v ܟ ܒܫܢ ܐ ܟܠ | ܟܪ |
A f. 19r ܟܠ ܒܟܪ[10] ܡ ܟܪ | ܟ
O f. 18r [11].ܟܒܫ ܒܪ ܟܪ ܒ
[14]ܟܒܫ ܟ [13]ܟܠ [12]ܟ
[16]ܡ ܟܒܫ ܟܠ [15]ܟܒܫ
.[17]ܒ ܟ ܒ
[10] ܗ ܡ[18] ܟ
[21]ܟ.[20]ܒ.[19]ܒ
V² f. 21v | ܗ ܒ[23] ܒ[22] ܟ
[26]ܟ[25].ܒ[24]ܒ
ܟܒܫ[27] ܐ ܒ
ܒ ܟ.
ܟ[28] ܒ
ܟ[29] ܟ.
[30]ܟ ܒ ܒ ܒ
ܒ ܒ ܒ ܐ
.[31]ܟ ܒ

which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke. But, again, by the *ram* he[36] indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat. But by the *goat* he[37] indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation. Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) *three years old* and *three years old*, he[38] makes known the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*.[39] [10] But that (phrase) *he*[40] *divided them equally*, that (is) to say, that the parts of each one of them are arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive. (There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar. He[41] places (*each*) *member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he[42] placed it opposite the

[4] R] om OKPAV²M² [5] R] om I [6] ROKPAV²M²] pr ܐ I [7] R] om OKPAV²M² [8] R] om I [9] ROKPAV²M²] om I [10] IOKPAV²M²] ܒܟܪ R [11] ROKPAV²M²] add ܒ ܟ ܒ ܐ ܟܒܫ RI [12] RI] om OKPAV²M² [13] R] om IOKPAV²M² [14] OKPAV²M²] ܟܒܫ RI [15] RIOKAV²M²] om P [16] ROKPAV²M²] ܒܪ I [17] RI] ܒܟ OKAV²M²: ܐ ܒܟ P [18] R] om IOKPAV²M² [19] ROKPAV²M²] ܒ I: add ܟ ܒ ܒ ܟ ܒ ܟ ܒ ܟ

ܕ ܚܕ ܗܘ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [32]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܣ ܡ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [33] ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܣ ܡ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ
ܕ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܀ ܕ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [34] [35]
30 ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [36]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [37] [38]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [39] ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [40]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [41] ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [42]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [43] ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [44]
35 ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [45]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [46]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܀ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [47]
ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ❖ [48]

member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he[43] makes known their[44] vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow. But (that phrase) *he*[45] *did not divide the birds* indicates their[46] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt. M² f. 12v P f. 24r

Genesis 50:10[47]

Manuscripts: O, f. 47v, *16–17*; K, f. 56v, *17–18*; P, f. 49r, *8–9*; A, f. 49r, *5–6*; V, f. 6v, *1–2*; V², f. 52v, *15–16*; M², f. 31v, *12–13*
Editions: R, p. 128, *15–17* and I, p. 222, *8*

ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [49]. *Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb.

ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ [50]. He[48] calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a "*dufnā*."[49]

[32] R] om I [33] ROKPAV²M²] ܕ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܣ ܡ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ I [34] ROKPAV²M²] ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܣ ܡ ܐ I [35] ROKPAV²M²] om I [36] ROKPAV²M²] ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ I [37] RIOKPAV²] om ܐ init M² [38] ROKPAV²M²] add ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ I [39] R] add ܕ ܐ OKPAV²M² [40] R] ܕ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ I [41] R] ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܣ ܡ ܐ IOKPAV²M² [42] R] ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ OKPAV²M²: add ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ OKPAM²: add ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ I [43] RI] ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ OKPAV²M² [44] ROKPAV²M²] om I [45] ROKPAV²M²] add ܕ ܐ I [46] RI] om ܐ init OKPAV²M² [47] R] pr ܐ IOKPAV²M² [48] ROKPAV²M²] ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ I [49] R] ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ OV, ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ IKPA, ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܠ ܚ ܐ ܗ ܘ ܐ V²M² [50] R] om IOKPAVV²M²

43 Namely, Moses.
44 Namely, the Israelites.
45 Namely, Abram.
46 Namely, the Israelites.
47 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.2. Genesis 50:10 and Chapter 4, Subsections 4.1.2. Genesis 50:10 and 4.2.2. Genesis 50:10.
48 Namely, Moses.
49 Meaning "mummy case." Gen 50:26.

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[51]ܐܬܪ ܕܥܬܪ ܐܝܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܪ[1]	*The threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb.

2.2.1.2 Exodus Scholion

ܚܡܫܐ[50]

Edition: B, col. 1450, *5–6*

خُمس القفيز زاد المروزى المعشار.	A fifth of the *qafīz*;[51] the *Marwazi* (measure)[52] is another tenth larger.

2.2.1.3 Numbers Scholia

ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘ ܫܢܬܐ[53]

Edition: B, col. 1407, *24*

سنة سنتان.	A year or two years.

Numbers 21:19[54]

Manuscripts: D, f. 53v, *1–5*; O, ff. 377v, *19*–378r, *1*; K, ff. 158v, *16*–159r, *1*; P, f. 118v, *10–14*; A, f. 139r, *6–12*; V, f. 53r, *5–8*; V^2, f. 143r, *2–7*; M^2, f. 89v, *10–14*

[51] OKPAVV²M²] ܐܬܪ ܕܥܬܪ ܐܝܕܝܢ R: om I

50 See Exod 29:40 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1450, under the entry ܚܡܫܐ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.8. ܚܡܫܐ.

51 A qafīz is an Arabian measure of grain.

52 This is an otherwise unattested measurement used in the ancient city of Merv, now in Turkmenistan.

53 See Num 9:22 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1407, under the entry ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘ ܫܢܬܐ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.7. ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘ ܫܢܬܐ.

54 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.3. Numbers 21:19.

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ܗ. ܡ̣ܝ̈ܐ ܕ[52]ܐܒܢ ܩܛܝܪܐ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ
ܫܡܗ ܠܡ̈ܝ. ܗ[53].ܫܡܗ ܠܡ̈ܝ
ܕܡ̈ܪ ܐ ܗ̈ܝ. ܐܐ ܡ̣ܨ̈ܐ
ܐ ܗ̈ܝ[54].ܩܛܪ ܡ̣ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ
ܕ[55]ܐܡ̈ܪ ܡ̣ܝ̈ܐ. ܐ̈ܫܬ̈ܐ
ܠ ܫ. ܒ̈ܝ ܫ̈ ܡ̣ ܡ̣ܠ̈ܚ.
ܐ. ܫ ܡ̣ ܒ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܫܬ̈ܐ
ܫ[56]ܩܛܪ ܐ̈ܫ ܐ̈ܫ
[57].ܐܡ̈ܪ | ܩܛ̈ܪ[1] | ܐ̈ܫ

He[55] calls them *waters* of *the stone*,[56] that is to say, *it will give its waters*.[57] That is to say, because they would go out from it, like that (passage), *he made* waters *come out from the rock*.[58] And like that (passage) *about Elisha*, who healed the bitter *waters* with salt,[59] so also here. Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water.

O f. 378r
K f. 159r

2.2.1.4 Job Scholion

ܩܛܪܬ[60]

Edition: B, col. 1646, *1–2*

ܐ̈ܫ ܩ̈ܛ. It is brocade.

ܒ̈ܝ ܩ̈ܛ ܐ ܗ ܕ ܒ̈ܝ Multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment.

[52] D] ܐ̈ܒܢ OKPAVV²M² [53] DOKPAVV²] ܫ̈ܫ err M² [54] DOKPAVV²] c. sey M² [55] DOKAVV² M²] add ܐ̈ܫ dit P [56] OKPAVV²M²] l.n. D, due to a stain [57] DKPAVV²M²] l.n. O, due to physical damage

55 Namely, Moses.

56 Cf. Num 20:8. It is also possible that this phrase is a mistranslation of the Num 20 heading in 7a1 (as well as in 5b1 and 6b1), which states "the stone of waters" (ܐ̈ܫ ܩ̈ܛ).

57 Num 20:8.

58 Cf. Ps 78:16.

59 Cf. 2 Kgs 2:19–22.

60 See Job 28:18 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), cols. 1645–1646, under the entry ܩܛܪܬ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.9. ܩܛܪܬ.

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2.2.1.5 1Samuel Scholion

1Samuel 8:1, 6[61]

Manuscript: D, ff. 83v^{mg}–84r^{mg}

ܠܚ ܟܚܒܪ ܟܒܫܝܢ ܝܒܚ	And after other things he discusses the
ܚܒܟܚܒ ,ܫܒܚ ܟܬܒ ܒܚ	evil way of life of the sons of Samuel,[62]
ܠܟܟܚܒ [ܐ]ܠܟ ܡܒܟ ܡܠܡ :	these whom Samuel appointed (as) [8:1]
ܒܚ [8:1] ܟܠ ܚ ܫܒ ܠ ܟܬ	*judges over Israel*, when he reached old
ܡ ܒܚ ܟܚܟ. ܟܒܚܫ ܝ	age, so that, due to the greatness of their
ܐ[ܠ]ܟ ܒ[ܫ]ܡ ܒܟܚ	iniquity, the people should be compelled
ܐ ܠ ܟ ܒ ܚ ܟ ܚ ܠ ܚ	to ask that they should have a king.[63]
[6] ܚ ܒ ܚ ,ܒ ܟ ܚ.	(On account of) this—when [6] *Samuel*
D f. 84r | [ܚ] ܚ ܠ ܚ ,ܟ ܠ ܟ ܚ	heard that they had asked to have *a king*
ܐ ܚ ܒ ܒ : ܐ ܠ ܟ ,ܒ ܟ	for themselves—he was grieved, *and*
ܟ ܚ ,ܒ ܒ ܠ	therefore he *prayed before the Lord*.

2.2.1.6 *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia

Cause of the Psalms[64]

Manuscripts: L, ff. 1v, *1*–3v, *16*; M, ff. 1v, *1*–3v, *16*; C, ff. 12v, *1*–14r, *20*; S, ff. 1r, *1*–5r, *5*
Edition: V, pp. 3, *1*–9, *8*

61 While it preserves an early anonymized reference to this text, the wording of I^{2} is only a summary and, thus, cannot be used for reconstructing this Aḥob scholion. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsections 4.1.3. 1Samuel 8:1, 6 and 4.2.4. 1Samuel 8:1, 6.

62 Cf. 1Sam 8:3, 5.

63 Cf. 1Sam 8:4–5.

64 Ter Haar Romeny produced an English translation of this text; however, it was only based on the Vandenhoff Exemplar. See idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 90–95. In editing all known, complete versions of this text, my translation differs in several places from Ter Haar Romeny's. Due to the fact that this text is preserved complete in five reliable witnesses (VLMCS), Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* (N), Bar Koni's *Scholion* (T), and Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms* (I^{3}) will not be used in this edition for two reasons: 1) they do not preserve any reliable, alternative reading, and 2) their wording and structure are either partially or entirely dissimilar from the parallel text of Aḥob's

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ܣܦܪܐ ܕܥܠܠܬ ܩܕܫ[11]
ܕܫܠܡ ܩܕܡ ܩܠܡ ܒܝܕ ܕܐܒܗ
ܕ—ܚܝ ܕܝܘܕ[58]ܘ ܢܒܝܐ
ܠܡܐ ܐܢ ܠܟ ܩܪܝܢ ܐܦ
ܩܪܝ[59]ܐ ܣܟܠܬܢܝ ܕܐܝܢ 5
ܐ[60]ܝ ܕܝܢ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܬܫܒ
ܡ ܚܫ[61]ܐ ܒܪ ܩܘ
ܫ ܕܬܫܬ ܠ ܝܕܥ ܠ
ܩܪ ܕܫܡ ܕܝܢ : ܩܕ
ܫ ܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܩ[62]ܫ 10
ܐ ܕܫ ܡ[63]ܐ ܕ ,

The *Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord*. Our Lord, help me![65] When I first instruct you, O, my lord the diligent reader, (about) the *Cause of the Psalms* of Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya,[66] before everything it is necessary to speak about the utility of the book and about the abundant advantages which those who seek after the study and examination of its holy words acquire from it. But while

[58] The following titles are written in red in LMS, and, in LM, they are identical in wording:

L	M	S
ܚ ܫܠ ܫ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܥ ܐ ܕ	ܚ ܫܠ ܫ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܥ ܐ ܕ	ܚ ܫܠ ܫ ܒ ܚ ܐ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܥ ܐ ܕ
ܕ ܚ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ	ܕ ܚ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ	ܕ ܚ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ
ܣ ܟ ܠ ܬ ܢ ܝ ܩ ܪ ܝ ܐ ܠ ܗ	ܣ ܟ ܠ ܬ ܢ ܝ ܩ ܪ ܝ ܐ ܠ ܗ	ܣ ܟ ܠ ܬ ܢ ܝ ܩ ܪ ܝ ܐ ܠ ܗ
ܕ ܕ ܒ ܪ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܕ	ܕ ܒ ܪ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܕ	ܕ ܒ ܪ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܕ
ܗ ܕ ܝ ܕ ܘ ܕ ܡ ܠ ܟ ܐ ܕ	ܗ ܕ ܝ ܕ ܘ ܕ ܡ ܠ ܟ ܐ ܕ	ܗ ܕ ܝ ܕ ܘ ܕ ܡ ܠ ܟ ܐ ܕ
ܕ ܚ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ.	ܕ ܚ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ.	ܕ ܚ ܕ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ:
ܣ ܟ ܠ ܬ ܢ ܝ ܩ ܪ ܝ ܐ ܠ ܗ	ܣ ܟ ܠ ܬ ܢ ܝ ܩ ܪ ܝ ܐ ܠ ܗ	ܣ ܟ ܠ ܬ ܢ ܝ ܩ ܪ ܝ ܐ ܠ ܗ
ܕ ܒ ܪ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܕ	ܕ ܒ ܪ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܕ	ܕ ܒ ܪ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܕ
ܗ ܕ ܝ ܕ ܘ ܕ ܡ ܠ ܟ ܐ ܕ	ܗ ܕ ܝ ܕ ܘ ܕ ܡ ܠ ܟ ܐ ܕ	ܗ ܕ ܝ ܕ ܘ ܕ ܡ ܠ ܟ ܐ ܕ
ܡ ܚ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ.	ܡ ܚ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ.	ܡ ܚ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܠ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܕ:

[59] V] ܩܕܫ ܕܘܝܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܠ ܥܠܡ C [60] VLMS] red C [61] C] red VLMS [62] VLMC] add ܡܢ dit S [63] VLMC] c. sey S

complete treatise. For a further discussion of this Aḥob exegetical work, as well as Nathniel, Bar Koni, and Isho'dad's use of it, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*, Subsections 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*, 3.4.1. *Cause of the Psalms*, and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.4. *Cause of the Psalms*.

65 This title appears to be the work of a later scribe but likely reflects Aḥob's original (now lost) title. The following are the title translations in LMS:

LM
By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord*. Our Lord, help me, so that just as I started in you, I will end in you. Amen.

S
By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord*. Our Lord, help us, so that just as I started in you, I will end in you. Amen.

66 The attribution to Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya arguably postdates the original treatise (as is particularly evidenced by the use of the title "Mar"), though it was likely added at an early date.

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ܡܬܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐܬܟ̈ܬܒܘ ܘ̇ܐܬܐܡ̈ܪܘ ܒ̇ܢ̈ܥ̈ܡܬܐ ܕ̇ܪ̈ܘ̈ܚܐ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ[64]
ܡܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܟ̈ܠ ܚ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܢ ܟ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܝ̈ܢ[65]ܕ̇ܡ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ
ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ[66]ܕ̇ܡ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ
ܕ̇ܡ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ[67]ܕ̇ܡ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ
ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ[68]ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ[69]ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ
ܕ̇ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̇ܐ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕ̇

ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܫ̈ܐ[77] ܕܐܝܬ
ܠܗܘܢ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ[78] ܘܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ[79] ❖
ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ[80] ܘܣܦ̈ܪ ܕܕܚܠܬ ܐ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ |
ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ[81] ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܫ̈ܐ
ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ: ܐܠܐ
ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ[82] ܐܝܬ ܐܦ ܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ
❖ ܕܗܘ ܒܗܘ[83] ܘܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ
ܐܦ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ[84] ܐܝܬ ܐܦ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ
ܕܥܬ̈ܝܕ̈ܐ[85] ܠܡܡܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ
ܘܒܥܘܬܐ ❖ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ[86] ܐܦ
ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ
ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ[87] ܐ̈ܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ ܕܦܙܝܪ̈ܝܢ
ܒܟܠ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܦܙܝܪ̈ܝܢ ܗܕܐ
ܐܦ ܒܗ̇ ܕܡܙ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܦ
ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐ̈ܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܟܠ ܐ̈ܠܝܢ
ܘܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ❖
ܕܥܬ̈ܝܕ̈ܐ[88] ܐܡ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ
ܘܡܫܠܡ[89] ܐܦ ܒܗ̇ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ
ܠܗ̇ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܒܗ̇ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ̇ ܩܝܡܐ ܐܦ ܒܗ̇ ܡܕܡ[90]
ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ̇
ܕܐ̈ܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܒܗ̇
ܕܐܝܬ ❖ ܠܗ̇ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ
ܡܝܬ̈ܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ
ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ̇ ܐ̈ܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ | ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ
ܠܗ̇ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܒܗ̇
ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐ̈ܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܠܝܢ
ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ[91] ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܒܗ̇
ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܐ̈ܠܝܢ
ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ[92] ܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ ܐ̈ܠܝܢ

Scriptures into four kinds: prophecy, I say, and history, and law writing, and wisdom, which is the fear of God.[71] For no one of the Scriptures, by itself, possesses one of these and is deprived of these others. For, behold! In the books of the prophets there are also found past histories, and, again, in the books of the histories there is also found prophecy of things, which (are) to come, with exhortation and petition and thanksgiving; these are found scattered in all the Scriptures. But in this book of Psalms all these (are) collectively set, and it is composed, as it were, of some members and parts from all these. For it also teaches about the Creator, and it explains about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things). I am speaking, then, of (the ones) who say that this world is eternally existing and moves along without the bridles of a ruler. And, again, (the book of Psalms) teaches about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and that we should refrain from detested (things) and should draw near to good (things) and about love, which (is directed) towards God and friendship, which (is directed) towards people. And in it there is prophecy of (those things) which (are) to come, together with histories of past deeds. And in it there are

S f. 2r

C f. 13r

V p. 5

[77]V] ,ܡܙ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕܕܘܝ LMCS [78]V] s. sey LMCS [79]VCS] ܕܐܡܪ LM [80]VLMC] ܕܕܚܠ err S [81]V^{C}LMCS] ܟܬܒ̈ܐ V* [82]LMCS] c. sey V [83]V] ܡܙ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ LMCS [84]VLM] ܢ ܢ ܠ CS [85]VLCS] ܕܥܬ̈ܝܕ̈ܐ err M [86]VLMS] add ܕ dit C [87]VLMS] c. sey C [88]V] ܐܝܬ LMCS [89]V] tr LMCS [90]VLMC] om S [91]V] ܕܐ̈ܠܝܢ LMCS [92]V] ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܐܦ LMCS

71 Cf. Prov 1:7.

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ܒܟ ܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܬ ܕܐܦ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ ·
M f. 2v | ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܫܒܥ ܘܒܫܒܥ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܡܫܐܠ ܒܟ
ܒܟ[1] ܐܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܢܫܐܠ ܘܢܣܒܪ ܒܗ ·
L f. 2v [93]ܘܐܦ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܬܐ[94] | ܗܘ ܕܝܩܢܐ ܘܡܪܐܝܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܬܐ
ܕܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܬܒܚ ܒܫܦܪ ܘܒܫܠܡ ܓܘܫܡܗ ·
ܒܟ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܫܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ[95] ܕܒܗ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܨܘܪܬܐ ·
ܕܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܬܐ ·
ܕܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܨܘܪܬܐ ·
ܕܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܬܐ ·

ܠܗܠܝܢ ܠܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܠܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܥܠ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܘܠܡܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܫܝܒ ܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܒܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܟܕ ܐܦ ܒܦܥܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܗܫܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܡܬܝܕܥܝܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܡܬܕܡܘ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܟܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ ܡܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܛܒܘܬܐ ܐܒܗܬܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܟܕ ܗܘܘ ܫܪܝܪ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܕܐܦ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܗܢܘ ܠܐ ܐܬܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܐܘ ܒܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܡܢܗܪܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܪܝܫ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܝܢ ܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܢܬܟܠܡ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܦ ܡܛܥܡ ܕܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܒܩܠ ܢܓܝܢ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܙܡܪܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܘܡܬܬܗܪ ܘܡܬܬܦܠ ܗܘ ܒܙܒܢ ܒܙܒܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܛܒܘܬܐ ܐܒܗܬܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܬܬܒܥ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܐܘ ܒܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܡܢܗܪܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܪܝܫ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܝܢ ܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܢܬܟܠܡ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܦ ܡܛܥܡ ܕܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܒܩܠ ܢܓܝܢ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܙܡܪܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܘܡܬܬܗܪ ܘܡܬܬܦܠ ܗܘ ܒܙܒܢ ܒܙܒܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܛܒܘܬܐ ܐܒܗܬܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܬܬܒܥ

them, drive away rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) also draw Christ himself, the redeemer of all, to their aid, and they will be deemed worthy of the grace of the Holy Spirit, just as in fact it happened to them and today happens to many (people). For who is not acquainted with the manner of life of blessed people—those who, while they are on the earth, dwell in heaven in thought, and while they are corporeal they become like the angels, those (for) whom the cause of their musing on spiritual (things) is the repetition of the psalms? For as this book of Psalms is full of all these benefits, our holy Fathers, since they were the true discoverers of these divine (matters), also rightly and justly determined that we should recite only this book more than the others. And without (the ability of complete) recitation of its words, a person would not be able to draw near to one of the ecclesiastical ranks or even be numbered among the students or among the fellow ministers of the Church. But it is necessary to discuss this also, for what reason did he[72] deliver his prophecy with the pleasant sounds of (various) kinds of music? (For) these (prophecies) of divine providence were mighty and amazing and at different times they were going to

M f. 3r

L f. 3r

V p. 7

S f. 4r

[103]VS] ܕܡܝܬ LMC [104]V] pr ܐ LMCS [105]V] ܕܡܝܬ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ LMCS [106]V] ܕܡܗܝܡܢ LMCS [107]VMCS] c. sey L [108]VCS] s. sey LM [109]LMCS] ܠܥܠܡ V [110]V] ܠܡܚܫܒ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ LMCS [111]VMCS] ܡܠܝܐ ܕܚܫܝܒ L [112]V^{c}LMCS] om V* [113]VLMC] s. sey S [114]V] ܒܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ LMCS [115]VLMS] ܕܡܫܝܚܐ C [116]VMCS] ܠܥܠܡ L

72 Namely, David.

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ܕܢܢ ܡܢܗܪ ܟܬܒ ܠܡܠ
ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ. ܥܕ ܟܡ ܐܬ
ܟܬ ܐ[117]ܬ ܕܠ ܐܠ ܟܬܒ
[118]ܟܬ ܒ[119]ܐ ܟܬܫܬ
ܐܬ ܟܬܥܟ ,ܡܠ ܠܡ
ܟ ܟܬ ܟܬܟ
ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ

ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܣܒ ܡܪܢ ܐܚܘܒ ܕܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܐ ܣܦܩ ܠܡܣܒܥ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܚܢ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܡܠܠ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܐ ܣܦܩ ܠܡܣܒܥ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܚܢ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܡܠܠ ܘܕܥ ܕܒܕܘܝܕ ܐܝܬ ܟܠ ܛܒ̈ܬܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܟܝܟ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܘܨܘܡܐ ܘܨܠܘܬܐ ܘܬܒ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܫܒ̈ܚܐ ܘܦܠܚܢܐ ܘܚܘܒܐ ܘܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܚܢܢܐ ܘܒܝܢܐ ܘܕܥܬܐ ܘܚܝ̈ܐ ܘܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܚܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܘܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܓܢܬ ܥܕܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܪܝ̈ܩ ܟܠ ܚܫ̈ܐ ܘܟܠ ܩܛ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܢ ܘܐ̈ܢ ܕܘܝܕ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐ̈ܢ ܕܘܝܕ ܐ̈ܢ ܕܘܝܕ ܐ̈ܢ ܕܘܝܕ

ܕܬܝܢ ܕܒܪܝ ܠܟ ܡܝܬܒ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ[139] ܘܥܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܚܒܪܗ ܘܥܠ ܩܝܡܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܣܗܕܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܩܒܪܗ ܘܥܠ ܢܨܚܗ ܘܥܠ ܣܠܩܗ: ܠܝܬ[140] ܠܗ ܕܝܗܒ ܚܝܠ ܠܡܕܥܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܬܟܠ ܒܗ. ܕܟܕ ܢܬܕܟܝ ܡܢ ܛܘܡܐ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ ܒܢܛܪ ܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܡܨܒܬܐ[141] ܕܢܥܠ ܠܒܝܬ ܩܕܫ ܩܕܫܝܢ ܕܒܢܘܣܝ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܢܬܬܒ ܠܢ ܕܢܬܦܩ ܒܗ ܘܢܬܬܒ ܠܢ ܕܢܠܦ ܕܒܪ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܬܒ ܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܒܒܪܟܬܐ ܘܒܡܕܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܕܢܬܦܩ ܒܗ ܘܢܬܬܒ ܠܢ ܕܢܠܦ ܕܒܪ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܬܒ ܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܒܒܪܟܬܐ ܘܒܡܕܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܢܗܘܝܢ

second, because he prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity and about (his) passion and about (his) martyrdom and about (his) resurrection and about (his) ascension. Thanks to him who gave power to the mind of rational (ones) in order that, when we should be cleansed from the impurity of passions by the observance of the commandments, we should enter into the Holy of Holies of his treasures and from there we should be enriched with discernment and grace and understanding —these (gifts) which are through prayer— in order that we should learn that the prophet, David, found mercy. Amen.

Psalm 5:4[82]

Manuscripts: L, f. 20v[mg]; M, f. 20v[mg]; C, f. 24r[mg]; S, f. 38r[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 24, *15–18*

ܡܫܬܡܥ[142] ܕܒܠܫܢ ܙܒܢ ܩܕܡ ܠ[144]ܥ[143]ܡ ܙܒܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܢ[146]ܐ[145]ܡܪ ܠ ܥ. ܕܒܩܪ ܙܒܢ ܩܕܡ ܠ ܝ[148]ܘ[147]ܡ. ܕܒܩܪ ܩܕܡ[149] ܡܠܬܐ ܕܒܩܪ[150].

For the (word meaning) *morning* is understood in three (ways) in the Scriptures. That is to say, either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this *morning*. But, (on) this (occasion), he[83] speaks about swiftness.

[139]VCS] ܐܢܫܘܬܗ LM [140]LMCS] ܠܝܬ V [141]VLMS] om ܕ init C [142]LMCS] ܩܒܠ ܨܠܘܬܝ I[3] [143]LM] om CS [144]LM] om I[3] [145]LMCS[1]] ܠܗ err S* [146]LMC] ܒܩܪ ܠܗ ܕܒܩܪ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܒܩܪ ܠܗ ܕܒܩܪ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܒܩܪ ܠܗ ܕܒܩܪ ܥܠܡܐ I[3] [147]LM] om CS [148]LM] ܢܝ I[3] [149]LMCS] add ܕܒܩܪ ܠܗ ܕܒܩܪ I[3] [150]LMC[1]S] om C*

82 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.2. Psalm 5:4 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.5. Psalm 5:4.

83 Namely, David.

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Psalm 29:9[84]

Manuscripts: L, f. 44v[mg]; M, f. 45r[mg]; C, f. 44r[mg]; S, f. 85r[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 49, *10–12*

ܐܢ[153].ܡܢܝܡ[152] ܐܦ[151]ܡܬܠ
ܡܐ[154].ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܝ ܐܠܝܢ ܡܬܠ
ܐܢ. ܐܦ ܐܬܠܝ ܒܗ ;ܡ
ܕܚܝܬ[156]ܡܬܠ[155]ܘܕܝܪ
5 ❖ ܚܝܬ[157]

On the other hand,[85] (do) we read *'ylt'* either (in the sense of) trees,[86] which (are) young in their plantings, like that in which *Absalom was hung*,[87] or (in the sense of) hinds[88] *and* ibexes,[89] which dwell in the forests?

Psalm 31:6[90]

Manuscripts: L, f. 46r[mg]; M, f. 46r[mg]; C, f. 45r[mg]; S, f. 87r[mg]
Edition: I[3], pp. 50, *26*–51, *1*

[159].ܫܠܐ ∴ ܡ :[158]ܫܠܐ
ܕܐܡܪ[1] ;ܡ ܡܐ[160]ܫܠܐ
❖ ܡܫܬܐ[162]ܠܐܡ | [161]ܚܣܝ

I have caused (*my spirit*) *to be guarded*, that is to say, I have guarded. *I have caused* (*my spirit*) *to be guarded*[91] is like I[3] p. 51

[151] CI[3]] s. sey S: ܡܫܬܠ err L, ܡܫܠ err M [152] LMCS] ܕܡ I[3] [153] MCSI[3]] ܡܢܝܡ err L [154] LMI[3]] s. sey CS [155] CSI[3]] ܡܫܬܠ err LM [156] LMCS] om I[3] [157] LMCS] s. sey I[3] [158] I[3]] ܫܠܐ err LMCS: add ܒܗ ;ܡ I[3]. LMCS agree with the later East Syriac Psalter here. [159] LI[3]] ܫܠܐ err MC, ܫܠܬܐ err S [160] LMCS] om I[3]: Leg. ܫܠܝܠ [161] MCS] ܕܚܣܝ ܕܐܡܪ L: ܕܚܣܝ I[3] [162] LMCS] ܠܐ ܕܡ I[3]

84 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.3. Psalm 29:9 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.6. Psalm 29:9.

85 The adverb ܐܦ could also be translated here as "again." Due to its presentation as a standalone scholion, it is unclear which option is the more appropriate translational choice.

86 I.e. *'ilātā*.

87 Cf. 2 Sam 18:9.

88 I.e. *'aylātā*.

89 Cf. Prov 5:19.

90 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.4. Psalm 31:6 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.7. Psalm 31:6.

91 Unless otherwise indicated, in subsequent subsections of Chapters 3–4, where ܫܠܐ is discussed in connection with Ps 31:6, it is presented in its corrected form as ܫܠܝ.

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that (verse), Gehazi *took* (*the silver*) *and caused* (*it*) *to be guarded in the house*.[92]

Psalm 39:2

Manuscripts: L, f. 56r[mg]; M, f. 56v[mg]; C, f. 54r[mg]; S, f. 106v[mg]

ܐܡܪ ܠܫܥܒܕ ܕܐܝܟ. He[93] says, "My thoughts."[94]

Psalm 39:4–6[95]

Manuscripts: L, ff. 56v, *7–26*, 57r, *14–26*; M, ff. 56v, *20–26*, 57r, *5–26*; C, ff. 54r, *21–27*, 54v, *1–10*; S, ff. 107r, *15–21*, 108r, *1–8*
Edition: I[3], pp. 59, *17–18*, *22*–60, *1*, *1–5*, *18*, *20–21*, *26*–61, *2*, *3–7*, *7–11*

[39:4] ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܒܠܫܢܝ [5] ܐܬܕܥ ܡܪܝ ܠܝ ܡܕ ܐܢ ܐܗܘ ܒܛܠ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܝܘܡ ܕܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܫܐ ܡܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܟ ܐܬܕܥ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܡܕ ܐܢ ܐܗܘ ܒܛܠ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܝܘܡ ܕܝ ܐܢܐ[163]

[39:4] *I thought with my tongue*, [5] *and the Lord showed me my end*. That is to say, I brought to memory what is my life and the end that is kept for me, that I might stand and condemn that which exists *today but* tomorrow departs.[96] Now, that (phrase), *the Lord showed me my end*, he[97] says (to indicate) that the knowledge of our lives is fixed in (human) nature. *That I might know why I remain*, that is to say, not only is it not right for me to complain, as though about

M f. 57r

[163] LMS] ܐܡܪ err C [164] LMCS] incip I[3]: om ܐ init I[3] [165] LMCS] ܐܬܕܥ I[3] [166] LMCS] add ܐܢ ܐܗܘ I[3] [167] LMCS] explic I[3]: ܡܕ ܐܢ ܐܗܘ ܒܛܠ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ I[3] [168] LCS] add ܥܡ M [169] LM[1]CS] add ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܕ ܐܢ ܐܗܘ ܒܛܠ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܝܘܡ ܕܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܫܐ ܡܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܟ ܐܬܕܥ ܠܝ ܡܪ

ܗܠܐ ܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܗܢ ܕܐܬܝ
ܒܗܕ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܬܒܥܝ ܠܝ : [6] ܐܦ
ܗܠ ܕܐܦ ܒܗܕ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܬ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐܠܐ ܗܐ ܢܬ
ܠܝ ܝܘܡ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐܠܐ ܗܐ
ܢܬ ܠܝ ܚܝܐ ܕܡܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܠ ܐܦ
ܠܐ ܚܪ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܗܐ ܕܐܦ
ܗܟܢܐ ܒܪܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܐܦ ܠ ܐܢ
ܐܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܟܢ ܒܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐ
ܢܫ ܐܦ ܠ ܐܢ ܐܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܟ ܒܪ
ܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܢܫ ܐܦ ܠ ܐܢ ܐܠ
ܕܐܦ ܗܟ ܒܪ ܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐ
ܢܫ ܐܦ ܠ ܐܢ ܐܠ ܕܐܦ ܗ
ܟ ܒܪ ܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐ
ܢܫ ܐܦ ܠ ܐ

something which persists,[98] but not even my remaining in this life is wanted by me, so that I should not see evils such as these. [6] *Behold! With a measure you have given my days*, (as though) he should say, "You gave me limited life." And not free and simple like the angels. For also thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being. Nor should we live without a limit. But according to the soundness and the equality of the mixture, according to the functioning of nature, life is stretched out or is cut short. For just as a house, if it is built well, then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also it remains. In this way also the bodies of people, according to their structure and the equality of their mixture, endure. In proportion to their feebleness (do) they perish. For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he[99] fixed how much he[100] should live, he[101] would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to

C f. 54v

S f. 108r

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[170] LMCS] incip I[3] [171] LMCS] om I[3] [172] LMCS] add ܠܟ I[3] [173] LMCS] ܗܠ I[3] [174] LMCS] explic I[3] [175] LMCS] incip I[3]: ܚܡ I[3] [176] LMCS] ܕܒܝܬ I[3] [177] LMCS] ܡܝܡܪ ܡܚܒܪ I[3] [178] LMC[1]SI[3]] add ܚܪ dit C* [179] LMCS] ܒܪܘܐ ܗܠ I[3] [180] LMCS] ܟܗܢܐ ܗܠ I[3] [181] LMI[3]] c. sey CS [182] LMCS] om I[3] [183] LMCS] ܡܣܟܟܗ I[3] [184] LMCS] explic I[3]: add ܟܬܒܐ I[3] [185] LMCS] incip I[3]: ܟܗܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܪ I[3] [186] LMCS] ܒܢܝܐ I[3] [187] LM[1]CS] add ܡܫܟܢ dit M* [188] LCS] ܡܫܟܢ I[3] [189] LMCS] ܒܢܝܢ ܒܢܝܐ ܗܟܠ I[3] [190] LMCS] add ܡܡܙܓ I[3] [191] LMCS] ܒܢܝܐ ܗܟܠ I[3] [192] LMCS] explic I[3]: add ܟܬܒ ܡܒܪܟܟ ܗܘ I[3] [193] LMCS] incip I[3] [194] LMCS] ܐܦ I[3] [195] LMCS] ܚܝ ܐ I[3] [196] LMCS] pr ܐ I[3] [197] LMCS] ܟܬܝܠ I[3] [198] LMCS] ܕܡ I[3]

98 There is a line of text added to M at this point which states, "But that I (will) not live forever. *And what is the measure of my days?*" (Ps 39:5). With the exception of the conjunction "But" (ܐܠܐ), this line of text originates from the *DGC* on Ps 39:5.

99 Namely, God.

100 Namely, a given person.

101 Namely, God.

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ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܒܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡ
ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ[199] ܐܐܡ ܝܗܒ ܚܕ ܐܠܗ
L f. 57r | ܐܠܗ[201] ;ܡ . ܐܡ[200] ܐ ܐܠ ܚܕ ܐܡ
;ܡ : ܐ[202] ܐܬܥܒܕ ܠܥ ܕܐܫܪ
ܚܕܡ ܕܚܫܒܬ ܕܡ ܐܠܗ ܐܡ
ܕܫ ܕܚܫܒܬ ܠ : ܐ[203] ܐܡ
;ܐ ܐܠ .ܒܟ ܕܫܬ ܐ ܐܫܪ ܐ
ܕܫ ܐܠܗ .ܕ ܐ ܐܠ
ܐ ܕܫܬ ܐ ܒܣ ܒܟ ܐ
ܐ ܕ ܐ[204] ܕܫ ܐ ܐ ܕ
ܐ ܐ ܐ[205] ܐ[206] .ܐ ܐ
ܐ[208] .ܕ ܐ[207] ܐ ܐ ܐ
: ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ[209] ܐ
ܐ ܐ[210] ܐ
ܐ[212] ܐ ܐ[211] .ܐ
ܐ ܐ[213] ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܒܟ[214] ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ[215] .ܐ
ܐ .ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܒܟ[216] ܐ .ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ[217] .
ܐ[218] ܐ ܐ ܒܟ
ܐ[219] ❖

another he reduced (the length of life). And, again, if he[102] was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies. That (passage), therefore, *Behold! With a measure you have given my days*: he[103] does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change, since the measure (of life) of the first (humans) is not equal (in comparison) with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones). Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan. For just as by time and birth, together with a change of air, the afflictions of blindness and deafness, together with chances of sicknesses, are bestowed, so also life and death, although the providence of God is mixed in all of them. Also, for us, it is not given to us to know all things exactly.

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[199] LMCS] ܐܠܗ ܐܐܡ ܝܗܒ ܚ I[3] [200] LMCS] om I[3] [201] LMCI[3]] ;ܡ S [202] LMCS] explic I[3] [203] LMS] s. sey C [204] LMCS] incip I[3]: om ܐ init I[3] [205] LMCS] om I[3] [206] LMCS] ܐ ܐ I[3] [207] LMCS] om I[3] [208] LMCS] explic I[3]: ܕ ܐ I[3] [209] LMCS] incip I[3]: pr ܐ I[3] [210] LMC[1]S] add ܐ err C* [211] LMS] explic I[3]: ܐ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

Psalm 40:8[104]

Manuscripts: L, f. 58v^{mg}; M, f. 58v^{mg}; S, ff. 110r^{mg}, 111r^{mg}
Edition: I^{3}, p. 62, *22–23*

ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܀	The sections of all the prophets.

Psalm 42:2[105]

Manuscripts: L, f. 60r, *19–26*; M, f. 60v, *2–11*; C, f. 57r^{mg}; S, f. 112v^{mg}
Edition: I^{3}, p. 64, *3–9*

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܥܝܪ ܐܚܪ ܡܬܝܒܫ ܘܡܬܚܡ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܡܝ ܐܝܠ ܒܥܝ ܡܕ ܐܟܠ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬ ܙܚܠ ܕܡܝ ܕܒܝ ܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܪܥܠ ܕܐܝܠ

ܚ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܠܚ̈ܕ̈ܐ [233]ܐܫܬ̈ܒ̈ܚ [232]ܪ̈ܠ̈ܥ love.[107]
[235]❖ [234]ܡ̈ܚ̈ܐ

Psalm 45 Prologue[108]

Manuscripts: L, f. 63v[mg]; M, f. 63v[mg]; C, f. 59v[mg]; S, ff. 118v–119r[mg]
Edition: V, p. 34, n. 4

ܠ̈ ـــ ܥ̈ܡ̈ܒ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܥ ܕ̈ܡ [236]ܪ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܗ̈ܐ But the Jews in their madness take this

[232]LCS] ܪ̈ܠ̈ܥ err M: om I[3] [233]LMCS] ܐܫܬ̈ܒ̈ܚ I[3] [234]LMCS] add ܪ̈ܡ̈ܠ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܕ̈ I[3]
[235]Attached to the end of this Aḥob scholion is a colophon, which varies slightly among DGC manuscripts. It is written in the form of a poem. For LCS, it consists of 4 lines of 7 syllables; for M, it consists of 5 lines of 7 syllables. Each line ends with the rhyme "–*aya*" (ܝ̈ܐ-). Since the poem is rhymed, it must be roughly 9th century or later in origin. See Sebastian P. Brock, "Poetry," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 334:

L	M	C	S
❖ ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ❖	❖ ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ܚ̈ܢ̈	❖ ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈	❖ ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈
ܠ̈ܚ̈ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ܚ̈	ܕ̈ܚ̈ ܚ̈ܡ̈ ܫ̈ܗ̈ܐ	ܠ̈ܚ̈ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ܚ̈	ܠ̈ܚ̈ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ܚ̈
ܫ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܐ̈	ܠ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܚ̈ܫ̈ܐ	ܫ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܚ̈ܡ̈	ܚ̈ܡ̈ ܫ̈ܗ̈ܐ
ܚ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܐ̈ ܫ̈ܠ̈	ܠ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܚ̈ܫ̈	ܚ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܚ̈	ܠ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܚ̈ܫ̈
ܫ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܚ̈ܫ̈	ܐ̈ ܫ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܚ̈	ܠ̈ ܫ̈ܠ̈	ܫ̈ ܫ̈ܠ̈
❖ ܪ̈ܫ̈	❖ ܪ̈ܫ̈ : ❖ ܪ̈ܫ̈	❖ ܪ̈ܫ̈	❖ ܪ̈ܫ̈ :

[236]VLMC] s. sey S

107 The colophon translations of LMCS:

L	M	C	S
Praise the Lord, O readers, and seek forgiveness from him for the weak scribe and sinner, the minister, Isa, the despised.	Praise the Lord, O reader, and seek forgiveness from him for the scribe, Isa, the sinner and for the writer, Nimrod, the virtuous. Grant (them O, Lord,) their reward in the heavens of heaven. Amen.	Praise the Lord, O, reader, and seek forgiveness from him for the week scribe and sinner, Daniel, the neglected and the despised.	Praise the Lord, O reader, and seek forgiveness from him for the weak scribe (and) sinner, Humu, the feeble and the despised.

108 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.9. Psalm 45 Prologue.

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ܥܠ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܒܬ ܡܨܪܝܬܗ ܐ[237]ܝܟ ܕܡܫܬܥ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܒܬ ܡܨܪܝܬܗ ܐ[237]ܝܟ ܕܡܫܬܥ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕ[238]ܫܪܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܕ[239]ܡܬܟܚܕ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܗ ܕ[240]ܒܪܝܫ ܡܠܬܐ ܕ[241]ܐܡܪ ܠܒܝ ܛܒ ܡܠܬܐ ❖

psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife. But they are proved wrong by the words, especially by the beginning: *My heart overflowed*, etc.

Psalm 45:9[109]

Manuscripts: L, f. 64r^{mg}; M, f. 64r^{mg}; C, f. 60r^{mg}; S, f. 120r^{mg}
Editions: V, p. 38, n. 7; I^3, p. 70, *2*; B, col. 223, *13–15*

ܫܢ ܐ ܕ ܫܢ ܐ ܕ ܫܢ ܐ ܕ

Psalm 58:4[114]

Manuscripts: L, f. 78r, *8–17*; M, f. 77r, *22–28*; C, f. 72r, *26–29*; S, f. 145r, *9–14*

[249].ܥܘܝܗ ܟ [248]ܕ̈ܥܠ ܐܬ̈ܦܪܫܘ ܥܠ ܕ̈ܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܥܡܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ ܕ[250]ܐܝܟ ܕ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܐܡܗ̇ ܚܟ̈ܡܬܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܬ ܥܡ̈ܗ ܠ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܕ̈ܚܠ ܕܚܠ ܠ̈ܗ ܒ̈ܕܚܠܬܐ ܕ̈

ܐܣܦܐ [58:5] ܕܡ ܚܠ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܗ
ܟܬܝܒ ܥܠ ܡܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܩܒܠ
ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܟܠ ܥܠ [6] ܚܪ[255] ܐܣܦ[254]
ܠܐ ܒܚܪܨ. ܐܣܦ[256] ܕܒ ܦܪܣ
ܗܘ ܕܣܓ.

But it is said, concerning the [58:5] *asp*, that according to the nature it received from God the *asp* will not be controlled by charms, which (are produced) by [6] a *charmer*.[121] And asp in the Persian language is *dasāg*.[122]

Psalm 68:14[123]

Manuscripts: L, f. 87v^{mg}; M, f. 86r^{mg}; C, f. 80r^{mg}; S, f. 162r^{mg}
Edition: I^3, pp. 101, *25–26*, 102, *4–5*

ܕܐܬܝ ܒܕ ܠܐ ܒ[258]ܡ[257] ܒܝܢ ܣܢܝ.
ܒܕ ܡܒܠ ܐܡܪ[259] ܒܝܢ ❖ ܒ[260]ܪܡ
ܒܕ[261] ܠܐ ܒܕ ܒܝܢ ܓܘܪ[262] ܒܕ
ܒ[263]ܝܢ ❖[264]

But instead of *among the thorns*, the Hebrew says, "among the manure pile."[124] But instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, "between the lots."[125]

[254] LMS] ܐܣܦܐ C [255] LMC] c. sey S [256] LMC*S] ܐܣܦ C^1 [257] LMCS] incip I^3 [258] LMCS] om I^3 [259] LMC] ܒ S: explic I^3 [260] LMCS] incip I^3 [261] LMC] om SI^3 [262] LMCI^3] s. sey S [263] I^3] s. sey LMCS [264] LMCS] explic I^3

121 Cf. Eccl 10:11; Jer 8:17.

122 Meaning "dragon." The underlying Pahlavi noun is likely "*dahāg*" (دهاگ), though the spelling of "*aždahāg*" (اژدهاگ) and "*aždahā*" (اژدها) are its longer and more common forms. See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*, 1st ed., 2nd imp. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), 45 and Prods Oktor Skjærvø "The Story of Aži Dahāka in the 9th Book of the *Dēnkard* and Pahlavi *āyēb* 'Blaze, Conflagration,'" in Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart, and Paul Widmer (eds.), *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek, Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65 Geburtstag*, vol. 2 (Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 12; Halle / Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), 535. For a further discussion of this word, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

123 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.14. Psalm 68:14 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.12. Psalm 68:14.

124 See MT Ps 68:14.

125 See LXX Ps 67:14.

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Psalm 68:16–17[126]

Manuscripts: L, f. 87v[mg]; M, f. 86r[mg]; C, f. 80r[mg]; S, f. 162r[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 103, *9–10*

ܗܘ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪ ܐܠܗܝܡ ܛܘܪ ܓܥܢܢ [265]ܛܘܪ ܕܒܫܢ [266].ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܒܫܢ [68:16] ܛܘܪ ܓܥܢܢ [17] ܠܡܐ [267]ܬܪܥܘܢ ܛܘܪ ܕܒܫܢ [68:16] ܛܘܪ ܓܒܢܢ [67:16] ܗܘ ܕܒܫܢ [268].ܐܡܪ ܛܘܪ ܓܒܢܢ [269]ܛܘܪ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪ ܓܥܢܢ [270]ܗܝ ❖

But the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] "Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?"[127] But the Greek says, [67:16] "Fat mountains, mountains of curd."[128]

Psalm 104:2–3[129]

Manuscripts: L, f. 128r, *4–26*; M, ff. 126r, *6–25*, 126v, *6–7*; C, f. 113v, *12–20*; S, f. 235r, *13–21*

❖ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ [271].[104:2] ܠܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܢܛܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܟܐ [272].ܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܠܝ [273]ܡܬܟܠܝܬܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܠܝ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܠܝ ܡܢ ܗܝ

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܚܙܝܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܝ ܐܦܠܐ ܕܗܘ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܨܘܪܬ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܘ ܒܨܘܪܬ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܪܝܫܗ ܡܢ ܪܡܬܗ. [3] ܕܝܠܗ ܡܝܐ ܒܪܝ ܡܫܟܢܬܗ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܘ

level roof rises and does not form a dome which is the ceiling for the floor (of the sanctuary).

Psalm 105:17–19[140]

Manuscripts: L, f. 132r[mg]; M, f. 130r[mg]; C, f. 116r[mg]; S, f. 240r[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 152, *23–24*

ܐܡܪ[1] ܕܠܐ ܥܠ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ[278] ܐܠܗܐ
ܐܬܒܥ ܠܗ ܘܐܦܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܝܕ[279]ܐ ܕܐܡܪ
[280]ܕܢ [105:17] ܠܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܠܥܒܕ
ܒܥܒܕ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܬܥܒܕ[1] [18]
[19] ܥܕ ܕܐܬܐ[281]ܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ
ܒܚܢܗ[1] ܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܬܐ[282]ܪ ܠܗ ܒܚܢ
ܠܗ ܒܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܒܚܢ
ܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ❖

For (it is) not due to (Joseph's) evil (that) God punished him and turned away from him that he might be [105:17] *sold*, [18] *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles*.[141] But [19] *the word of the Lord examined him*. But he says *his word* with regard to his purpose concerning him.

Psalm 110 Prologue[142]

Manuscripts: L, ff. 140r, *21*–140v, *6*; M, ff. 138r, *28*–138v, *13*; C, ff. 123r, *26*–123v, *9*; S, f. 256r, *9–18*
Editions: V, pp. 46, *11*–47, *5* and I[3], p. 157, *23–26*

M f. 138v | ܕܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܒܚܪ ܕ
ܠܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܫܘܒܚܗ ܕ
ܐܦ ܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܝ :

When he[143] proclaims in it[144] the honor which came to pass for humanity, he[145] also indicates concerning the eternal

[278]LMCS] incip I[3] [279]LMCS] ܒܚܪ ܐ I[3] [280]LMCS] om I[3] [281]LMCS] om I[3] [282]LMCS] explic I[3]: ܠܡܫܬܥܒܕ I[3]

140 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.17. Psalm 105:17–19 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.15. Psalm 105:19.
141 Cf. Gen 37:28.
142 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.18. Psalm 110 Prologue and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.16. Psalm 110 Prologue.
143 Namely, David.
144 Namely, this psalm.
145 Namely, David.

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begetting of God the Word, and the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews,[146] and concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands, and the honor that will be given to the saints. But the stupid Jews take it[147] as (being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca,[148] that (is) as if these words were spoken by him. But they are refuted by the beginning of the psalm, in that it is confessed by them that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally[149] written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*,[150] whenever (a person) wants to call God by the name *my Lord* or *the Lord*, just as here (in this psalm) they also tell (the ones) who know (the name), *the Lord*, that by (these four) letters these names are written[151] (as) *the Lord* and (as) that of *my Lord*.

C f. 123v

L f. 140v

V p. 47
I³ p. 158

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283 LMS] ܪܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ C 284 LMS] ܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܟܗܢܘܬܐ V 285 VLMCS] incip I³: explic I³ 286 VLMCS] incip I³: ܟܬ I³ 287 VLMCS] explic I³ 288 VLM¹] add ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝ dit M*: incip I³ 289 VL] om homarc CS 290 VLMCS] ܪܝܫܝܬ ܒܪܐ I³ 291 VLMCS] om I³ 292 VLMCS] ܐܠܗܐ I³ 293 VLMCS] ܪܝܫ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ I³ 294 VLMCS] explic I³: pr ܘ I³ 295 V^{C}LMCS] ܘܡܪܝ V* 296 LMCS] om ܒ init V

146 Cf. Heb 4:14–5:10; 7:1–10:18.

147 Namely, this psalm.

148 Cf. Gen 24:1–67.

149 While it does preserve an early usage of this text, the wording and structure of I³, within the final part of this second extract (on p. 158, *1–4*), are too dissimilar, in comparison with the more reliable witnesses (LMCS), to be used for reconstructing this section of this Aḥob scholion.

150 This is a reference to the divine appellations, YHWH and Adonai.

151 Implying "understood."

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Psalm 110:3[152]

Manuscripts: L, f. 140v[mg]; M. f. 139r *3–7*; C, f. 123v[mg]; S ff. 256v[mg]–257r[mg]
Editions: V, p. 48, n. 2 and I[3], pp. 159, *24*, *28–30*, 160, *11–12*

ܡܢ ܩܕܡ : ܘܠܥ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܗܬ ܩ
ܘܟܪܟܘܟ[11] 297.ܐܝܟ ܟܬܒ ܐܦ
ܩ ܠܥܠ.ܟܘܬ ܒܢ ܩ ܡܢ
ܘܠ[298] ❖ ܩܦܩܝܐ ܡܝܬܐ[299]
ܟܫܝ ܩ 301[ܝܬܟ ܐ][300]ܟܢ
ܟܠ[302] ܒܢ ܩܕܡ[303]ܐ
ܡܢ[306]ܟܠ[305],ܡܝ[304].ܟܘܬ[ܐ]
ܟ[ܐ] ܬܟ ܟ ܐܦ ܟܢ
ܐܘܝ[309] ܩ[308][307]ܠܟ
❖ [311][310]ܟܬܟ

The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time). But the Greek says, "From the womb and before the morning star I begot you."[153] He[154] called him[155] a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do).[156]

[297]VLMS] ܐܝܟ — C [298]V[c]LMC] om V* [299]LMC] incip I[3]: ܟܢ ܐ ܩ ܠܥܠ ,ܡܝ ܟܢ I[3]: explic I[3] [300]LMC] c. sey V: incip I[3] [301]VLMC] om I[3] [302]VLMC] om ܒ init I[3] [303]VMCI[3]] om L [304]I[3]] ܟܘܬ : V, ܟܘܬ ❖ LMC: explic I[3] [305]VLMC] incip I[3] [306]CI[3]] om VLM [307]LM] ܟܠܥܘܟ I[3] [308]LM] ܟܥܘܟ VC [309]VLMC] om I[3] [310]VLMC] explic I[3] [311]After ܐܝܟ, S preserves a largely reordered version of this scholion:

ܡܢ ܟܘܬ ܩ ܡܢ ܟܫܝ ܩ ܝܬܟ ܐ ܟܢ ܩܦܩܝܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܠܘ ܩ ܠܥܠ ܟܘܬ
ܒܟܪ ܒܢ ܩ ܡܢ ܘܟܪܟܘܟ ܐܘܝ ܩ ܟܥܘܟ ܬܟ ܟ ܐܦ ܟܢ ܟܠ
ܒ ܟܬܟ ܟܫܝ ܟ .

152 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.19. Psalm 110:3 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.17. Psalm 110:3.

153 See LXX Ps 109:3.

154 Namely, David.

155 Namely, the Son.

156 The translation of S, beginning with ܐܝܟ in this scholion:
… the Son creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time). But the Greek says, "From the womb and from (it) *I begot you*." He called him a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is (not) changed from his being a Son and (being) eternally begotten before "the morning star" like us.

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2.2.1.7 Tarshish Scholion

ܬܪܫܝܫ[157]

Edition: B, col. 2092, *3–4*

ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝܡܐ ܬܪܫܝܫ	He[158] calls the sea coast "*Tarshish*."

2.2.1.8 Daniel Scholia

ܒܠܛܫܐܨܪ[159]

Edition: B, col. 397, *12–13*

ܠܡܪܒ ܟܪܝܣ ܕܣܪܝܣ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܠܛܫܐܨܪ ܗܘ ܠܫܡ ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ	The chief *of the eunuchs gave Daniel the name, Belteshazzar*, and it is translated (as) "the image of Bel."

ܚܢܢܝܐ[160]

Edition: B, col. 1937, *3–4*

ܡܟܝ ܒܪܒ ܣܪܝܣ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܕܐܬ ܚܢܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܫܡܗ ܕܗܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ.	The chief *of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Hananiah* by this name, (that is to say), a delegate.

157 See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 2092, under the entry **ܬܪܫܝܫ**. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.11. **ܬܪܫܝܫ**.

158 Depending on the biblical verse Aḥob is referencing (which is unknown), this "he" could be David, Isaiah, or some other known figure from the Old Testament.

159 See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 397, under the entry **ܒܠܛܫܐܨܪ**. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.2. **ܒܠܛܫܐܨܪ**.

160 See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1937, under the entry **ܚܢܢܝܐ**. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.10. **ܚܢܢܝܐ**.

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ܡܝܫܐܝܠ[161]

Edition: B, col. 1077, *16–18*

ܡܪܒ ܐܣܛܪܣܝܣ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܗܘ ܡܪܒ ܡܫܚܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ.	*The chief of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Mishael* by this name, that is to say, the anointer of the land.

ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ[162]

Edition: B, col. 1400, *5–6*

ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣ ܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܫܡ ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܒܕ ܕܚܠܐ	*The chief of the eunuchs* gave *Azariah* the name, *Abednego*, that is to say, the common servant.

2.2.1.9 Nebuchadnezzar Scholion

ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ[163]

Edition: B, col. 1212, *3–4*

ܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܗܘ ܨܠܡܗ ܕܢܒܘ	It is translated (as) the image of Nabu.

161 See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1077, under the entry ܡܝܫܐܝܠ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.3. ܡܝܫܐܝܠ.

162 See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1400, under the entry ܥܙܪ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.6. ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ.

163 See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1212, under the entry ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.5. ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ.

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2.2.1.10 Bar Sira Scholion

Bar Sira 14:12, 18[164]

Manuscript: D, f. 133r[mg]

[14:12] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܬܝܢ ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܟ ܫܘܠ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܠ ܐܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܠܟ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܟ ܕܡܝܬ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܡܬܟܬܒ ܥܠܝܟ ܕܬܡܘܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܟ ܕܬܐܙܠ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ. [18] ܗܟܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܠܐ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܦܠܘ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܢܒܥܘ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܢܦܠܘ ܘܢܢܒܥܘ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܢܛܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܥܠܐ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܢܛܪ ܥܠ

2.2.1.11 Maccabees Scholion

ܩܢܐ[166]

Edition: B, col. 1143, *4*

ܐܬܦܫܩ ܒܥܝܪܐ. They are translated (as) "zealots."

2.2.2 *Other Scholia*

There are two scholia attributed to Aḥob that are not primarily exegetical in nature and so cannot be classified as scholia on any particular verse(s), though the first scholion references the biblical text three times.

2.2.2.1 Calendrical Scholion[167]

Edition: F, p. 182, *2–16*

ܒܟܪ ܗܘ ܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܒܪ
ܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܐܬܐ ܬܪܝܢ
ܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܪ ܒܚܕ ܝܘܡܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܘܫܒܬܐ
ܐܬܐ ܐܬܐ. ܐܬܐ ܒܫܒܬܐ
ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܟܠ ܥܒܕܐ
ܒܗ ܐܬܐ ܐܡܪ. ܘܐܢ ܐܬܐ

There was a custom for the Jews that when the fourteenth was falling on the Sabbath, there were two laws which were breaking one another in one day, that is to say, the fourteenth and the Sabbath. On the Sabbath they were commanded, *you*[168] *shall not do any work on it*,[169] and *you*[170]

166 See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1143, under the entry ܩܢܐ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.4. ܩܢܐ.

167 The text of this scholion and its biblical citations in the footnotes are reproduced from Carlson's edition. While his edition presents the text in an East Syriac script, for the sake of standardizing Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works throughout this study, I reproduced this portion of Carlson's edition in Estrangela. My translation differs in several places from Carlson's edition. The same approach will also be taken for other portions reproduced from Carlson's edition in this study. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.1. Calendrical Scholion.

168 This is pluralized.

169 Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; 16:8.

170 This is pluralized.

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ܠܐ ܬܩܕܚܘܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܫܟܢܬܟܘܢ.
ܒܫܒܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܥܒܕܐ
ܕ ܒܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܒܝܢ ܡܫܡܫܬܐ
ܘܬܟܠܘܢ ܐܢ ܒܪ ܡܐܟܠ ܢܦܫ ܕܬܐܟܠ
ܠܚܡܐ ܒܗ ܢܫܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܠܢ
ܒܫܥܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܣܒܠ
ܒܝܬ ܐ : ܫ . ܒܫܒܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܠܢ
ܒܥܕܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܥܕܬܐ
ܕܡܫܬܬܦ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܬܦ ܒܗ
ܒܥܕܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܕ ܕܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܢܦܫ ܕܬܐܟܠ
ܠܚܡܐ ܒܗ ܢܫܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܠܢ

2.2.2.2 Eschatological Scholion[176]

Edition: F, p. 190, *9–14*

ܗܝܕܟܝ ܕܒܥܝ ܠܗ ܡܪܢ ܕܩܪܒܢܐ
ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܠܢ ܡܪܢ ܥܠ ܝܕ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ.
ܕܫܢܝ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥ ܣܢܝܢ ܗܘ
ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܩܪܒܢܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܘܕܢܡܘܣܐ
ܩܐܡ ... ܗܘ ܕܐܬܡܣܪ ܠܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ
ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܐܠܐ ܬܠܬܣܪ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܬܗ
ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ ܬܪܝܣܪ ܩܕܡ ܡܝܬܝܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܘܬܠܬ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܝܬܝܗ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ.

Some (people) hand down that the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered (to us), will continue 1596 years, (which is) the number (of years) that the offerings of Jerusalem and of the Law continued ... It is also handed down that this world will be thirteen indictions from its beginning until its end: the first ten before the coming of Christ, and the (final) three from his coming until the end.

2.2.3 *Disputed Scholia*[177]

In the following three subsections, the authorship of disputed scholia will be discussed in order to ascertain whether or not they should be attributed to Aḥob. The focus of these subsections will center around the name(s) attached to the various scholia, as well as the manner by which they have been transmitted and subsequently preserved.

2.2.3.1 Qaṭraya Scholia

In the *Anonymous Commentary*, some scholia are attributed to an individual simply named "Qaṭraya," and he has been identified by earlier scholars with Gabriel Qaṭraya, Abraham of Beth Rabban (6th century), Aḥob Qaṭraya, or Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428).[178] However, none of these scholars put

176 For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.2. Eschatological Scholion.

177 For a discussion of two other disputed texts connected to Aḥob, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.5. Works.

178 Diettrich, *Išôʿdâdh's Stellung*, xxviii–xxix; Mingana, *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 1023; Vosté, "Les oracles de Balaam d'après Mar Išoʿdad de Merw," 191; Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 8–9, 344–345; Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 87–89; Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 141–142, n. 23; Cf. Brock, "Syriac Writers from

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forward any substantial evidence to support their claims.[179] Van den Eynde accepted Gustav Ernst Samuel Diettrich's proposal and argued that this "Qaṭraya" should be equated with Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya, an influential biblical commentator who likely lived in the first half of the seventh century (i.e. several decades after Aḥob).[180] The basis for Van den Eynde's argument was a comparative study he conducted between Isho'dad's *Commentary on Exodus-Deuteronomy* (in which "Qaṭraya" is cited thirty times)[181] and two *AC* manuscripts[182] containing commentaries on the same biblical books. While Isho'dad consistently refers to this writer as "Qaṭraya," the *AC* either calls him "Qaṭraya" or "Rabban" in the same verses. He tested his theory further in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Genesis*, using the same two *AC* manuscripts. Though Isho'dad does not cite "Qaṭraya" by name in his *Commentary on Genesis*, the corresponding *AC* manuscripts name "Rabban" (in four different ways[183]) across several verses, beginning in Gen 6:14.[184] Van den Eynde recognized that "Rabban" and/or "Rabban Gabriel" + "Qaṭraya" arguably referred to Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya.[185] Van den Eynde made similar arguments, concerning the identity of "Qaṭraya," in his other Isho'dad biblical commentary introductions.[186]

Beyond Isho'dad, there are two other sources which preserve "Qaṭraya" fragments, namely, the *AC* of ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 and Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*. In ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22, there are two brief "Qaṭraya" fragments, the first of which is found on f. 227r and the second on f. 228r.

Beth Qaṭraye," 89 and Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxvii–xxxii, l–li.

179 Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 87–89; Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), viii–xi; Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary," 77, n. 64.

180 Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), ix–x. See also the table in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

181 Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), viii–ix.

182 These two *AC* manuscripts are (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 (10th–12th centuries) and Mingana Syr. 553 (1930).

183 These include "Rabban Gabriel," "our Rabban Gabriel," "our Rabban," and "Rabban." See Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), ix. Cf. Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxvii.

184 Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), ix–x. See also Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxix–xxxi. "Qaṭraya" is not cited, at least by name, in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms* and *John*. In later *AC* manuscripts, such as Mosul 1, "Rabban" (ܪܒܢ) is cited earlier in Genesis, beginning with Gen 5:29.

185 Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), x. See also the table in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

186 Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), xiii–xiv; idem, *Isaïe et les Douze* (trans.), ix–x; Van den Eynde, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), xiv.

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On f. 227r, *16–17*, the *AC* preserves a brief commentary on Ezek 23:20, which states, "Qaṭraya: He calls 'their slaves' the idols of the Egyptians"[187] (ܡܦܫܩܐ ܠܚܕ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܨ̈ܪܝܐ ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܩܪܐ ❖). On f. 228r, *8–9*, the *AC* preserves a brief commentary on Ezek 27:5, which states, "Qaṭraya: namely, *zupar*"[188] (ܡܦܫܩܐ. ܙܘܦܪ ܠܡ).

While the *AC* remains little studied, Van den Eynde and Levene's studies have argued that (the majority of Old Testament books of) the *AC* noticeably depend upon Isho'dad's Old Testament commentaries, though the exact nature of this dependence has yet to be shown.[189] So, perhaps not surprisingly, the two "Qaṭraya" fragments preserved in the *AC on Ezekiel* are also found in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Ezekiel*. For instance, concerning the *AC's* "Qaṭraya" fragment on Ezek 23:20, Isho'dad states, "Qaṭraya: He calls 'their slaves' the idols of the Egyptians" (ܡܦܫܩܐ · ܠܚܕ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܨ̈ܪܝܐ ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܩܪܐ).[190] Furthermore, concerning the *AC's* "Qaṭraya" fragment on Ezek 27:5, Isho'dad (albeit in a slightly expanded manner) states, "Qaṭraya: namely, *dupar*. *Dupar* is in the Persian language" (ܡܦܫܩܐ : ܙܘܦܪ ܠܡ. ܙܘܦܪ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ).[191] Though the latter *AC* fragment is truncated and ܙܘܦܪ has been incorrectly written as ܙܘܦܪ, if one accepts that the above *AC* "Qaṭraya" fragments derive from Isho'dad, then, on the basis of Van den Eynde and Van Rompay's arguments concerning the identity of "Qaṭraya" in Isho'dad's biblical commentaries, the source of these fragments is likely Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya.

Turning to Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, Carlson has established that it preserves three "Qaṭraya" fragments. He refers to them as Passage 2, Passage 3, and Passage 5 and provides an English translation for each of them:[192]

187 This translation is my own.

188 This translation is my own.

189 Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), xiv–xv, xxiv–xxv; idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), xxxv–xxxvi; Van den Eynde, *Isaïe et les Douze* (trans.), xviii; idem, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), xxiv–xxv; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvii; Abraham Levene, "Remarques sur deux commentaires syriaques de la Genèse (Le commentaire de Iš'odad, évêque de Hadatta, et le manuscrit Mingana 553)," *L'Orient Syrien* 5 (1960): 55–62; idem, "Some Observations on the Commentaries of Isho'dad Bishop of Hadatta and of the Manuscript Mingana 553 on Genesis," *Studia Patristica* 4:2 (1961): 136–142.

190 Van den Eynde, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (text), 78, *11–12*. My translation is based on idem, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), 91.

191 Van den Eynde, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (text), 81, *1–2*. My translation is based on idem, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), 94.

192 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 176–177, 180–181. My English translation of Passage 2 and Passage 5 differs slightly from Carlson's English translation. While these three Passages primarily discuss New Testament material, they are included in this study, because they present three further examples of disputed Qaṭraya scholia.

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Passage 2

ܩܛܪܝܐ ܒܫܬܐ ܒܫܝܫܝܐ ܕܟܢܘܢ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܪܢ ܐܬܡܫܚ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ.	Qaṭraya: On the sixth of latter Kanun[193] our Savior was baptized, on the day of the Sabbath.

Passage 3

ܩܛܪܝܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܚܒܫ ܒܒܝܬ ܣܘܪܝܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܩܕܡ ܚܒܫܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ.	Qaṭraya: John was locked in prison one year, and he was killed one year before the passion of our Lord.

Passage 5

ܩܛܪܝܐ ܟܕ ܡܠܟ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܘܐܪܟܠܐܘܣ ܒܪܗ ܥܠ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܫܐܠܘ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܩܣܪ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܢܡܘܣܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܝܘܡ ܨܦܪܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܦܘܟܕܢܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܠܘ ܠܡܪܢ ܐܝܬܘ ܠܗ ܠܦܝܠܛܘܣ. ܗܘ ܝܕܥ ܠܢܡܘܣܗܘܢ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܠܚܕ ܘܠܚܕ ܢܨܠܒ ܘܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ

While Shbadnaya relies on Isho'dad in several places in his prose commentary on his *Poem*,[195] he does not rely on him as a source for these three "Qaṭraya" fragments, though Isho'dad does preserve a similar formulaic phrase in Matt 14:10 that parallels the second half of Passage 3 above: "for John was killed two years after the baptism of our Lord" (ܕܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ).[196] Though this hardly proves dependency, it is possible that Shbadnaya shares a similar source with Isho'dad at this point.

While Shbadnaya's specific source(s) for these three Passages has yet to be determined, Carlson suggested that each originated from either Aḥob Qaṭraya or Gabriel Qaṭraya, the exegete.[197] In his extant scholia, Aḥob never mentions any month of the year, though in his Calendrical scholion (preserved in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*), he does discuss both a specific day of the month and its connection to the Sabbath, both of which find a parallel in Passage 2. In the same scholion, Aḥob uses the phrase "in the year our Lord suffered" (ܒܫܢܬ ܐܫ ܕܡܪܢ), which roughly parallels the second part of Passage 3, namely "one year before the suffering of our Lord" (ܒܫܢܬ ܚܕ ܩܕܡ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܫ). Again, in his Calendrical scholion, Aḥob uses the word "custom" (ܢܡܘܣ) in relation to the Jews; this same word is used twice in connection to the Jews in Passage 5. Furthermore, in his 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, Aḥob essentially summarizes the whole of 1 Sam 8; a similar approach, concerning summarizing a large portion of the biblical text, is preserved in Passage 5. Aḥob also often clarifies a given word or phrase with "that is/that is to say" (ܗܝܢܘ); Passage 5 preserves an instance of this. Are these few parallels enough to suggest a similarity of thought, style, and vocabulary, and thus that these three "Qaṭraya" fragments should be attributed to Aḥob?

Before reaching a conclusion, one must also account for two other related issues. The first issue is Shbadnaya's literary creativity and the probability that he does not preserve his "Qaṭraya" fragments verbatim from his source(s), whether original or intermediary.[198] Erik ten Napel established this fact, with respect to Shbadnaya's use of Emmanuel bar Shahhare's *Hexaemeron*, and Carlson has conducted similar studies on Shbadnaya's use of Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*.[199] Nevertheless, Shbadnaya's longer excerpts are arguably more

195 Carlson, "A light from 'the Dark Centuries,'" 203.

196 Gibson, *Isho'dad of Merv* (*Volume II: Matthew and Mark in Syriac*), 102, *15–16* and idem, *Isho'dad of Merv* (*Volume I: Translation*), 61.

197 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 176–177, 181.

198 Carlson, "A light from 'the Dark Centuries,'" 204 and idem, "The Future of the Past," 171–172.

199 Ten Napel, "Some Remarks on the Quotations," 204–210 and Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 171, n. 2.

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authentic than his shorter ones.[200] In the case of his "Qaṭraya" fragments, since Shbadnaya's source(s) is/are, to date, unknown, it is not possible to know the extent to which he may or may not have altered it/them.

The second issue concerns the name "Qaṭraya." In the East Syriac tradition, Aḥob Qaṭraya is always introduced as "Aḥob Qaṭraya," "Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya," or "Aḥob," as well as the incorrect "Ḥob/Ayyub."[201] This may be due to the fact that since Aḥob's name was perceived as being so unique among East Syriac commentators no other name was needed to distinguish him from another writer by the same name. Contrary to this, there were a number of Gabriels who originated from or were connected to Qatar. Not surprisingly, confusion arose over the various Gabriels, which is reflected in more recent studies on the subject.[202] It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the exegete, Gabriel Qaṭraya, was given the nickname "Qaṭraya" (or "Rabban" in other sources) to distinguish him from other Gabriels of Qatar. Whether one accepts the exegete, Gabriel Qaṭraya, or another writer from Qatar as the original source behind Shbadnaya's "Qaṭraya" fragments, it is reasonably certain that this "Qaṭraya" was not Aḥob Qaṭraya.[203]

2.2.3.2 Anonymous Hebrew and Greek Readings in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*

Ishoʿdad opens his commentary on Ps 68:23[204] by stating, "*The Lord said, 'Between the teeth'*" (ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܝܢ ܫܢܝ ܟܐܦܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ).[205] Van den Eynde footnotes that a marginal note attached to the parallel text in the *DGC* states, "But instead of *teeth*, the Hebrew and the Greek say, 'Bashan'" (ܣܠܘܩ ∴ ܒܥܒܪܝܐ ܘܒܝܘܢܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܒܫܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܫܢܝ ܟܐܦܐ).[206] In the same footnote, Van den Eynde claims that, in

200 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 171–172.

201 For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.2. Name and Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

202 Brock has highlighted this confusion in the most succinct manner. See idem, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 89–92.

203 In stating this, it is not impossible that Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya, or another writer from Qatar, relied on Aḥob's exegetical works to produce his own writings. However, the extent to which this writer from Qatar may or may not have relied on Aḥob is not possible to determine.

204 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 68:22. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 104, *3* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115.

205 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 104, *3* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115.

206 See L, f. 88r^{mg}; M, f. 87r^{mg}; C, f. 80v^{mg}; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115, n. 28. S does not preserve this marginal scholion.

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the *DGC*, this marginal scholion is credited to Aḥob.[207] However, Van den Eynde's assertion is arguably incorrect, because none of the accessible *DGC* manuscripts attribute Aḥob as its author. Rather, they present this reading as anonymous. While Van den Eynde's claim cannot be immediately substantiated, it does raise an interesting question: Could this marginal scholion have originated from Aḥob? In the *DGC*, there are five Aḥob scholia which either include or are (in their totality) Hebrew and/or Greek readings of a given Peshitta word or phrase. These include his scholia on Psalm 45:9; 58:4; 68:14, 16–17; 110:3. If these readings in the *DGC* are collected and compared, they appear as follows:

Psalm 68:23 Marginal Scholion	**Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek Readings**[208]	
"But instead of *teeth*, the Hebrew and the Greek say, 'Bashan'" (ܩܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ ⁘ ܒܫܢ ܐܡܪ)	"Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory'" (ܩܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܫܢ ܐܡܪ ·)	Psalm 45:9 / MT Ps 45:9
	"But instead of *they were separated*, the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged'" (ܩܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܫܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܙܪܘ ܐܬܬܓܪܘ)	Psalm 58:4 / MT Ps 58:4
	"But instead of *among the thorns*, the Hebrew says, 'between the manure pile.' But instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, 'between the lots'" (ܩܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܥܒܪܝܐ ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܟ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ. ܘܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܟ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ)	Psalm 68:14 / MT Ps 68:14 / LXX Ps 67:14
	"But the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] 'Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?' But the Greek says, [16] 'Fat mountains, mountains of curd'" (ܩܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܥܒܪܝܐ ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܟ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ [68:16]. ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܟ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ [17] ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܟ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ [16] ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܟ ܒܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܕܫܡܢ)	Psalm 68:16–17 / MT Ps 68:16–17 / LXX Ps 67:16

207 Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115, n. 28.

208 The Syriac texts are taken from the edition of Aḥob's Psalm 45:9, 58:4, 68:14, 68:16–17, and 110:3 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translations of the Syriac are my own.

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(*cont.*)

Psalm 68:23 Marginal Scholion	**Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek Readings**	
	"But the Greek says, 'From the womb and before the morning star I begot you'" (ܡܢ ܟܪܣܐ ܘܩܕܡ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܨܒܚܐ ܝܠܕܬܟ ܐܡܪ ܗܠܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܡܙܡܘܪ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܫܚܪ ܝܠܕܬܟ)	Psalm 110:3 / LXX Ps 109:3

As the table above reveals, Aḥob did not consistently use the same formulaic approach for his Hebrew or Greek readings. However, Aḥob's Psalm 58:4, 68:14, and 68:16–17 readings share three common features: each begins with "Hebrew" (ܟܬܝܢܐ) or "Greek" (ܝܘܢܝܐ) followed by the postpositive preposition "but" (ܐܡ), and each concludes with the verb of "Hebrew," namely, "says" (ܐܡܪ). These same features appear in the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion, with the exception that "Hebrew" and "Greek" form a compound subject and, thus, "says" is pluralized: "say" (ܐܡܪܝܢ). The most notable difference between the form of the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion and Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings is that in the two instances where both a Hebrew and a Greek reading are included in the same scholion (i.e. Psalm 68:14, 16–17), Aḥob consistently separates the two readings, likely for the simple reason that each reading states a different word or phrase, compared to the Peshitta word or phrase under discussion. Furthermore, where the Hebrew and the Greek agree against the Peshitta in his scholia above (i.e. in Psalm 45:9; 58:4),[209] Aḥob only cites the Hebrew—rather than the Hebrew and the Greek. Since no known Aḥob scholion exists where he combines a Hebrew and Greek reading, a further comparison of similarities and/or differences cannot be made.

The immediate origin of the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion is hinted at by Van den Eynde: the *DGC* manuscript tradition incorporated it from the margin of one or two manuscripts containing Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*.[210] Since this marginal scholion is preserved, possibly in its earliest form, in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*, it would be beneficial to briefly consider a few examples of Isho'dad's non-Aḥobian Hebrew and Greek readings

209 In Ps 45:9; 58:4, the Hebrew and the Greek use equivalent words for "ivory" (שֵׁן / ἐλεφαντίνων) and "they were separated" (זרו / ἀπηλλοτριώθησαν), respectively.

210 Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115, n. 28. Van den Eynde labels these manuscripts "J" and "L," the former of which is dated to 1380 and the latter of which is dated to the 17th–18th century. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), v.

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in his *Commentary on Psalms*, particularly in comparison to Aḥob's.[211] While Isho'dad often uses a similar formulaic approach to Aḥob—in that he begins each reading with "Hebrew" and/or "Greek," and he concludes a given reading with "says," such as in his commentary on Ps 50:2; 73:6[212]—there are notable exceptions to this approach. For instance, in his commentary on Ps 78:55,[213] he cites two Greek readings, neither of which include a "says."[214] Also, unlike Aḥob, he does combine Hebrew and Greek readings, so long as they state the same word or phrase. Two examples of this can be found in his commentary on Ps 78:8; 83:7.[215] In both of these instances, Isho'dad does not use "but," and in the latter example he also does not employ "say."[216] Isho'dad does make use of "but" in his Ps 93:3 Hebrew reading,[217] though this does not appear to be his preferred approach.

Even with these minor variants, Isho'dad's formulaic approach to non-Aḥobian Hebrew and Greek readings is, at least at times, very similar to Aḥob's. Nevertheless, since it is unclear if Isho'dad included the anonymous Ps 68:23 scholion as a marginal gloss in his *Commentary on Psalms*, another plausible explanation is that the scribe of Isho'dad manuscript "J," dated to 1380, recognized the formulaic approaches of Aḥob and Isho'dad, concerning Hebrew and Greek readings of the Peshitta, and (at minimum) added this one read-

211 For a study of Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Isho'dad of Merv's Old Testament Exegesis.

212 Isho'dad's Ps 50:2 Hebrew reading states, "Instead of *crown*, the Hebrew says, 'beauty'" (ܟܬܝ ܪܝܦܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܠ ܚܢܢ ·), and his Ps 73:6 Greek reading states, "The Greek says, 'they put on'" (ܟܬܝ ܐܦܟܚܘ ·). My translations are based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 77, *23–24*; 112, *17* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 87, 124.

213 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 78:54. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 122, *8* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 134.

214 Isho'dad's Ps 78:55 Greek readings state, "The Greek (says), 'With a rope he caused them to inherit a division by lot'" (ܐܡܐ ܒܚܒܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܦܝܫ ·) and "The Greek (says), 'And he made the tribes of Israel dwell in their tents'" (ܒܐܗܠܝ ·). My translations are based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 122, *10*, *11–12* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 134.

215 Van den Eynde lists the latter of these two verses as Ps 83:6. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 127, *14* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 140.

216 Isho'dad's Ps 78:8; 83:7 Hebrew and Greek readings state, "The Hebrew and Greek say, 'His spirit did not believe in God'" (ܟܬܝ ܪܘܚܗ ܠܐ ܗܝܡܢ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ·) and "Instead of *Arabs and Gadarites*, the Hebrew and the Greek (say), 'Ishmaelites and Hagrites'" (ܟܬܝ ܐܫܡܥܐܝܐ ܘܗܓܪܝܐ · ܥܠ ܕܥܪܒ ܘܓܕܪ ·), respectively. My translations are based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 120, *7–8*; 127, *14–15* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 132, 140.

217 Isho'dad's Ps 93:3 Hebrew reading states, "But, instead of *purity*, the Hebrew says, 'they were humbled'" (ܟܬܝ ܐܬܟܦܝܘ ܪܘܡܡܘ ܥܠ · ܥܡ ·). My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 139, *9* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 152.

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ing to the margin of his manuscript, using an otherwise unknown source. This argument would account for why this reading is: 1) preserved in the margin, as opposed to the main text of Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*; 2) anonymous in two Isho'dad manuscripts; 3) similar to several Aḥob and Isho'dad Hebrew and Greek readings; 4) anonymous in all *DGC* manuscripts. Concerning number four and given the fact that there are multiple witnesses of the *DGC*, it is unlikely that this scholion would have remained anonymous in every *DGC* manuscript if it were an authentic Aḥob scholion. This can be known, because the *DGC* manuscript tradition is likely using a now lost or inaccessible source from which it derived—and subsequently marked—all of the Aḥob scholia in its tradition; the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion was arguably not among these Aḥob scholia.[218]

Ter Haar Romeny notes that of the six comparable Hebrew readings found in both the *DGC* and Isho'dad in their respective commentaries on Ps 1–81,[219] four—specifically those connected to Ps 45:9, 58:4; 68:14, 16–17—are attributed to Aḥob in the *DGC*.[220] He postulates that Aḥob's name was omitted from the other two readings—those connected to Ps 66:11;[221] 68:23—"because they begin with the word *'Ebrāyā*, next to which the attribution to Aḥob may have seemed redundant."[222] Though this assertion is interesting, it is unclear how it makes sense of the available data. For instance, why would the *DGC* manuscript tradition cite Aḥob's name in four out of six instances? Why not cite his name in the first instance only?[223] Furthermore, since Aḥob is credited as the author of two separate scholia in Psalm 68, why not only attribute the first of these to him? While Ter Haar Romeny's hypothesis is problematic, one could argue that Aḥob's name was accidentally overlooked and, thus, both of these scholia were preserved anonymously by mistake. However, this proposition is an argument from silence and, otherwise, unsupported by the available evidence. Rather,

218 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

219 These include the *DGC* and Isho'dad's commentaries on Ps 45:9; 58:4; 66:11; 68:14, 16–17, 23.

220 Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 450 and n. 67.

221 The Hebrew reading in the *DGC's* anonymous Ps 66:11 marginal scholion states, "The Hebrew says, 'And you made a belt for our loins'" (ܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܘܥܒܕܬ ܡܬܢܐ ⁘ ܠܚܨܝܢ ܠܢ). See L, f. 85v[mg]; M, f. 84v[mg]; C, f. 78v[mg]; S, f. 159r[mg], the last of which uses ܠܚܨܝ instead.

222 Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 450.

223 For instance, Aḥob's full name—Aḥob Qaṭraya—is attached to his Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is the first of his scholia to be included in the *DGC*. Subsequent to this, the *DGC* manuscript tradition credits each Aḥob scholion to "Aḥob," meaning it omits "Qaṭraya" because it is implied. For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.2. Psalm 5:4.

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as was stated above, it seems more likely that the *DGC* manuscript tradition recognized that these two scholia were not Aḥob readings and, thus, because their author(s) was/were unknown, they were left anonymous when they were added as marginal glosses in the *DGC*.

The anonymous manner in which the *DGC* manuscript tradition includes the Ps 66:11; 68:23 marginal scholia is arguably an indicator concerning Aḥob's potential connection to the other anonymized Hebrew and Greek marginal or in-text scholia scattered throughout the *DGC*:[224] just as it is unlikely that Aḥob is the source of the anonymous Ps 66:11; 68:23 marginal scholia, it is equally unlikely that he is the source of any other anonymized marginal or in-text scholia preserved in the *DGC*.

2.2.3.3 Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion

In his edition of the Beth Qaṭraye writers in F, pp. 178, *15*–179, *2*, Carlson presents the following scholion:[225]

ܐܡܪ ܐܒܗܘ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܐ ܥܠ ܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܟܕ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܐܝܟ ܕܐܫܪܐ ܠܥܡܪ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܣܒܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܥܡܪ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܚܙܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܠܝܢ ܐܙܠܘ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܟܗܢܐ ܘܠܦܪܝܫܐ ܘܐܬܘ ܟܢܫܘ ܘܝܬܒܘ ܥܨܐ ܕܢܩܛܠܘܗܝ.

Aḥob and[226] Gabriel Qaṭraya: Our Lord (did) not enter Jerusalem as soon as he had raised Lazarus (from the dead). But, as John the Evangelist said, when he raised Lazarus, *some of* (*those*) who saw these (things) *went* and *spoke* to *the priests and* to *the Pharisees, and they came together* and they took counsel *that they might* destroy *him*.[227] And

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224 There are a number of other anonymized Hebrew and Greek marginal or in-text scholia in the *DGC*. For the Hebrew readings, they are connected to the following chapters and verses: Ps 83:3 (M, f. 105v^{mg}; C, f. 97r^{mg}; S, f. 199r^{mg}); Ps 83:7 (L, f. 108r^{mg}; M, f. 106r^{mg}; C, f. 97v^{mg}; S, f. 199r^{mg}); Ps 91:6 (L, f. 117r^{mg}; M, f. 115r^{mg}; C, f. 105r^{mg}; S, f. 215r^{mg}); Ps 92:11 (L, f. 118v^{mg}; M, f. 116v^{mg}; C, f. 106r^{mg}; S, f. 218r^{mg}); Ps 93:3 (L, f. 119r^{mg}; M, f. 117r^{mg}; C, f. 106v^{mg}; S, f. 219r^{mg}); Ps 118 (L, f. 146v, *14–18*; M, f. 145r, *16–20*; C, f. 131r^{mg}; S, f. 269r^{mg}); Ps 118:83 (L, f. 150r^{mg}; M, f. 148v^{mg}; S, f. 275r^{mg}); Ps 137:1 (L, f. 162v^{mg}; M, f. 161r^{mg}; S, f. 298r^{mg}). For the Greek readings, they are connected to the following chapters and verses: Ps 82:2 (L, f. 107r, *12–15*; M, f. 105r, *21–24*; C, f. 96v^{mg}; S, f. 198r^{mg}); Ps 92:11 (L, f. 118v^{mg}; M, f. 116v^{mg}; C, f. 106r^{mg}; S, f. 218r^{mg}); Ps 118 (L, f. 146v, *18–19*; M, f. 145r, *20–21*; C, f. 131r^{mg}; S, f. 269r^{mg}); Ps 118:67 (L, f. 149v^{mg}; M, f. 148r^{mg}; C, f. 133v^{mg}; S, f. 274r^{mg}); Ps 137:1 (L, f. 162v^{mg}; M, f. 161r^{mg}; S, f. 298r^{mg}).

225 Carlson refers to this scholion as "Passage 4." See idem, "The Future of the Past," 178–179. My English translation differs slightly from his.

226 The conjunction "and" (ܘ) can also be translated as "or."

227 John 11:46–53.

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ܗܘ ܠܐ ܗܠܟ ܒܓܠܝ ܥܡ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܕܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܐܬܪܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܢܫܠܡܘܢ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܥܢܝܐ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܗ ܣܥܘܕܬܐ ܘܐܝܠܥܙܪ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܒܣܝܡܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܘܒܫܒܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܪܒ ܫܡܫܐ ܢܦܩ ܘܐܙܠ ܗܘ ܘܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܘܒܬܘ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܙܝܬܐ ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܩܡ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܐܪܝܚܐ ܘܐܣܝ ܠܒܪ ܬܝܡܝ

the Evangelist says *Jesus was not walking openly among the Jews, but to the walled* (*city*)*, which is called Ephraim*.[228] And many (were) desiring that these days be fulfilled. But when he[229] had remained there a little (while), he came to Bethany, and they prepared a supper there for him and Lazarus was one of the guests.[230] And it was the Sabbath day. But when the sun had set, he went out, and (also) his disciples, and they spent the night on the Mount of Olives.[231] And he rose early in the morning *and went* over *to Jericho*, and he healed *Bartimaeus*.[232]

Shbadnaya credits this scholion to "Aḥob and Gabriel Qaṭraya" (ܫܒܚ ܐܚܘܒ ܘܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ ܩܛܪܝܐ). Carlson rightly points out that its double attribution is problematic, because there is no known work co-written by these two authors.[233] Carlson further suggests that the source of this scholion may originate from a commentary produced by Gabriel Qaṭraya, who relies on Aḥob's exegetical material at this point.[234] This is entirely possible, given Aḥob's influence on later East Syriac biblical commentators. However, without further evidence, it is impossible to distinguish which parts of this scholion originate from Aḥob and which parts originate and/or were subsequently developed by Gabriel. Thus, as it stands, this scholion should be viewed as the exegetical product of Gabriel Qaṭraya, which was later altered (at least to some degree) by Shbadnaya.[235]

228 John 11:54.
229 Namely, Jesus.
230 Cf. John 12:1–2.
231 Cf. Luke 21:37.
232 Mark 10:46–52. Carlson incorrectly marks this as Mark 11:46–52.
233 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 179.
234 Ibid.
235 Ibid., 171–172, 179. While this scholion only discusses New Testament material, it is included in this study, because it presents one example of how a presumed Aḥob scholion was utilized and likely developed by two later East Syriac exegetes.

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2.2.4 *Spurious Scholia*

The following subsection explores the known instances where select texts are wrongly attributed to Aḥob by later East Syriac scribes.

2.2.4.1 Kirkuk 8, Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21, and Vat. Syr. 578 Aḥob Attribution

In their commentary on Lev 10:1–2, K, ff. 110v, *14*–111r, *3*; A, f. 96v, *11–21*; V, f. 32r, *17–22* attribute the following text to Aḥob Qaṭraya:[236]

ܩܕܝܫ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܩܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܐܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܗܘ ܩܕܝܫ.
ܒܫܡ ܕܩܛܪܝܐ ܐܚܘܒ
ܩܕܝܡ ܩܪܒ ܟܕ ܩܝܡ
ܒܫܥܬ ܟܠ ܩܛܪܝܐ
ܒܛܗܪ ܟܠ ܐܬܐ ܕܥܠ
ܒܛܗ ܟܠ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܫ ܙܪ.
ܠܗܘܢ. ܩܛܪܝܐ ·
ܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܟܠ
ܟܠ.ܐܫ ܙܪ ܐܚܘܒ
ܠ ܗܘ ܡܫ.ܐܬ ܡ ܗܘ ܐ
ܩܝܡ ·
K f. 111r .ܩܛܪܝܐ ܗܠܐ ܐܚܘܒ | ܐܬ ܠܩܛܪܝܐ ܒܠܚ
ܗܘ ܒܠܚ ܩܪܒ ܡ ,ܐ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܩܕܝܫ.ܐܬ
ܠ ܐܟܠ.ܐ ܗܘ ܐ ܡ
.ܗܘܡ ܠ ܩܪܐ

Aḥob Qaṭraya, who is the Persian Sage:[237] Since (Nadab and Abihu) were negligent in the administering of the offerings, the fire came down as usual at the time of the offering, but it did not find their offering (to have been made) in purity, and it did not touch them. And when they saw that the offerings were not being consumed, they brought strange fire to consume (them) so that they should not be accused by Moses (as) to why the offerings had not been consumed. And (then) the strange fire consumed the offerings. And that which (is) from heaven consumed them,[238] as (it consumed) *the two hundred and fifty (men)*[239] who were divided against Moses and against Aaron.

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236 My translation is based on Van Rompay, "Aphrahat, 'A Student of the Holy Scriptures': The Reception of his Biblical Interpretation in Later Syriac Tradition," in Carmela Baffioni, Rosa Bianca Finazzi, Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua, and Emidio Vergani (eds.), *Storia e pensiero religioso nel Vicino Oriente. L'età Bagratide—Maimonide—Afraate* (Milan: Bulzoni, 2014), 263.

237 KA present this attribution in red ink.

238 Namely, Nadab and Abihu. Cf. Lev 10:1–2.

239 Num 16:35.

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Aside from one minor variant,[240] D, ff. 41r, *36*–41v, *1* preserves the same text. However, rather than "Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ), it attributes this text to "Aphrahat" (ܐܦܪܗܛ); DKAV further clarify that this writer is the one "who is the Persian Sage" (ܗܘ ܚܟܝܡ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܕܐܡܪ) All other extant *AC* manuscripts attribute this text to Aphrahat.[241] Grigory Kessel has demonstrated that this text originates from Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 4.3 ("On Prayer") in two forms: a citation of col. 141, *16–25* and a rewording of col. 144, *1–6*,[242] both of which state the following:[243]

ܐܦ ܕܢ ܒܢܝ ܗܪܘܢ ܢܕܒ ܘܐܒܝܗܘ
ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܐܡ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ
ܢܚܬ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܟܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܒܝܘܡ
ܟܠ ܟܕܝܢ ܕܩܪܒܢܐ ܕܟܕ ܫܪܝ
ܒܬܪ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܩܘܪܒܢܗܘܢ ܒܛܗܪܐ
ܘܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܬ ܠܡ ܡܒܝܢ ܟܠ
ܢܝܬ ܐܦܝܢ ܟܕܝܢ ܕܚܙܘ ܕܠܐ
ܐܬܩܪܒ ܩܘܪܒܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ
ܠܡܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ
ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܫܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܩܪܒ
ܐܝܬ ܐܦܝܢ ܐܟܠ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬ ܩܘܪܒܢܗ
ܘܐܬ ܕ ܕܐ | ... ܠܡ ܠܡ ܡܐ ܟܠ
ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܟܠ ܐܬ ܗܢܘܢ ܘܗܠܟ
ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܩܗܬ
ܥܡ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠ

Also, *the sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu*,[244] while being negligent in the administering of the offering, fire came down as usual at the time of the offering, but it did not find their offerings (to have been made) in purity, and it did not touch them. And when they saw that the offering had not been consumed, they brought strange fire to consume it, so that they should not be accused by Moses, (as to) why the offering had not been consumed. And (then) the strange fire consumed the offering, and that which is Col. 144
from heaven consumed them ... Also, when two hundred and fifty men were divided against Moses and offered

240 KAV place the direct object marker ܠ before the noun "two hundred" (ܡܐܬܝܢ), likely to clarify that it is the object and not the assumed subject of its phrase; D does not include this object marker.

241 See P, f. 86r, *20*; V², f. 99r, *5–6*; M², f. 62r, *3*. Due to extensive physical damage, it is unclear if CPB 00445 (= O), f. 337v presents "Aphrahat" or "Aḥob Qaṭraya," though one can presume that it agrees with D.

242 Grigory M. Kessel, "A Note on One Borrowing from Aphrahat: St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, Diettrich 2," *Parole de l'Orient* 31 (2006): 296.

243 The Syriac text is taken from Jean Parisot, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes* (Patrologia Syriaca 1.1; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894), cols. 141, *16–25* and 144, *1–6* (Syriac), and my translation is based on Adam Lehto, *The Demonstrations of Aphrahat, the Persian Sage* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 27; Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2010), 129–130.

244 Lev 10:1.

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ܟܕ ܠܐ ܦܩܕ ܒܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܬܩܛܪ ܐܫܬܐ
ܘܐܬܩܕܫ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝ: ܘܐܟܠܬ ܐܢܘܢ
ܘܩܕܫ ܙܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ.

incense without the command (to do so), the fire was commanded and it went out from before the Lord, and it consumed them, and their incense was sanctified by their lives.

Since this text clearly originates from Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 4.3, a simple question must be asked: Why do the scribes of KAV attribute this text to Aḥob Qaṭraya? There are three possible answers, all of which will be given in descending order of likelihood: 3) all three scribes simply wrote the wrong name, perhaps because, while transcribing the beginning of this text, they looked away at another source where Aḥob's full name was written; 2) all three scribes were aware of a now lost (and otherwise unattested) Aḥob scholion that contained similar wording/phraseology as this Aphrahat text, and they mistakenly sought to correct what they perceived to be the wrong attribution, i.e. Aphrahat, as presented in their respective exemplars; 1) all three scribes were copying their respective manuscripts from (an) exemplar(s), in which this text was attributed to Aḥob Qaṭraya. Due to the fact that three separate *AC* scribes make the same mistake in unrelated manuscripts, i.e. one is not copying from the other, 3) can be safely eliminated. Though there was once arguably more Aḥob scholia than what is now extant,[245] it is unconvincing to assume the existence of a lost Aḥob scholion on the basis of a contested attribution alone, especially since the manuscript tradition never attaches the epithet "who is the Persian Sage" to Aḥob; therefore, 2) seems improbable. Since scribal errors (small or large) are a frequent part of any manuscript tradition, 1) is the most likely answer, though it is admittedly an argument from silence. It is possible that this scribal error began in ms. Seert 21 (1605)—which is the earliest known (and now lost) *AC* manuscript subsequent to D,[246] as well as the exemplar from which A was copied—and was corrected in subsequent *AC* manuscripts, such as OP, etc. It is also possible that this scribal error predates D. Either way, one or more early *AC* scribes (prior to those who produced KAV) attributed this text to Aḥob, perhaps for one of the following two reasons:

– He/They relied on (an) exemplar(s)—which was/were produced prior to D—wherein this text was attributed to an individual simply known as "the Persian Sage," and he/they presumed that this epithet referred to Aḥob

245 For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5. Conclusion, Chapter 4, Section 4.5. Conclusion, and Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

246 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 139.

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Qaṭraya, who famously came from Persian territory and knew some Persian vocabulary.

– He/They relied on (an) exemplar(s)—which was/were produced subsequent to D—wherein this text was attributed to "Aphrahat, who is the Persian Sage," but, due to a mechanical error, only the "A" (ܐ) of "Aphrahat" could be read, and so Aḥob (rather than Aphrahat) was presumed to be the author of this text for 2 related reasons: 1) this/these scribe(s) did not know that Aphrahat was the author of this text,[247] and 2) this/these scribes(s) knew that Aḥob's name begins with "A" and that he was well known in the East Syriac exegetical tradition for his exegetical works.

While this proposal cannot definitively prove the manner by which this text came to be attributed to Aḥob at some early point in the *AC* manuscript tradition, it does reveal that Aḥob's connection to this particular text is arguably erroneous.

2.2.4.2 ܐܚܘܒ Aḥob Attribution

In Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, the definitions of ܡܠܛܢܐ (including this entry word) state, "ܡܠܛܢܐ: 'Grains of wheat which (are) parched,' according to (Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway. Fried wheat or burnt wheat."[248] In the Arabic phrase that follows Bar Seroshway's fragment, there is a footnote connected to the preposition "or" (او), which states, "PS 'And Aḥob (P And Ayyub) says' *instead of* 'or'" (PS ܐܚܘܒ (P ܐܝܘܒ) ܐܝܘܒ *loco* او).[249] In other words, the two Bar Bahlul manuscripts, PS, assert that, rather than "or burnt wheat" (او حنطة مشيّطة), the phrase "burnt wheat" should be attributed to Aḥob/Ayyub: "And Aḥob / And Ayyub says, 'burnt wheat'" (ܐܚܘܒ ܐܝܘܒ / ܐܝܘܒ حنطة مشيّطة). The scribes of PS likely mistook او to be a shortened version of "Ayyub" (ايوب) and, furthermore, wished to clarify any potential ambiguities caused by the Arabic phrase او حنطة مشيّطة, which may explain why they preserve Aḥob/Ayyub's name in Syriac, rather than Arabic. Of the 14 manuscripts used by Duval for his edition of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, PS are among the later manuscripts, dating to 1886 and

247 It is possible that this/these scribe(s) was/were knowledgeable of older manuscripts, which credited the *Demonstrations* to Jacob of Nisibis (d. 338), rather than to Aphrahat. See Sebastian P. Brock, "Aphrahaṭ," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 24.

248 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1792, *10–11*, states:

ܡܠܛܢܐ ܗܘ ܚܛܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܚܛܐ ܡܩܠܘܬ ܐܘ ܚܛܐ ܡܫܝܛܐ

249 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1791, n. 22.

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1796, respectively.[250] Given the fact that there are a number of earlier, more reliable Bar Bahlul manuscripts which present the word as او, and not ܐܘܪ / ܕܗܪ or even ايوب, Aḥob's connection to this particular phrase is probably erroneous.

2.3 Conclusion

Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works are preserved in eight writers and manuscript traditions in the Syriac manuscript tradition: 1) Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*; 2) the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*; 3) Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*; 4) the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*; 5) Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*; 6) the *Anonymous Commentary*; 7) Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*; 8) Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. Along with Aḥob's genuine works—which encompass 35 known Old Testament scholia, as well as one complete work, *Cause of the Psalms*, there are a number of disputed texts, including Qaṭraya scholia, anonymous Hebrew and Greek readings in the *DGC*, and a scholion in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*. Of these texts, only the Shbadnaya scholion can be said to contain an authentic Aḥobian core. However, due to the fact that this scholion is attributed to both Aḥob and Gabriel Qaṭraya and has likely been subsequently reworked by Shbadnaya, it is impossible (in its current state) to distinguish Aḥob's exegesis from the others and, thus, the present form of this scholion likely reflects the exegesis of Gabriel and Shbadnaya more than that of Aḥob. Beyond the disputed texts, there are two spurious scholia, each of which claims Aḥob as its writer: one is preserved in three *AC* manuscripts' commentary on Lev 10:1–2, and the other is footnoted in the ܐܗܬܠ entry of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. The former clearly originates from Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 4.3; the latter is anonymous, and Aḥob is only credited as its author in two later Bar Bahlul manuscripts, arguably the product of scribal errors. As such, Aḥob's connection to these two particular scholia should be rejected.

250 For all of the manuscripts, and their dates, used by Duval in his edition of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, see Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xxvi–xxxix.

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CHAPTER 3

Aḥob of Qatar and the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition (ca. 600–ca. 850)

This chapter and the following chapter will analyze Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works (which are largely in the form of scholia) as they have been used and preserved by eight writers and manuscript traditions within the East Syriac exegetical tradition.[1] The examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works[2] in the present chapter will be presented in four sections, which are arranged in the following chronological order:[3]

1) Nathniel of Shirzor's (ca. 600) *Cause of the Psalms*
2) The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century)
3) Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* (792/793)
4) The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?).[4]

Each section will have a number of subsections, depending on how many Aḥob scholia and/or fragments the respective writer and/or manuscript tradition used. Aside from discussions pertaining to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*, Bar Koni's *Scholion*, and the *DGC*), each subsection will be presented according to the order of the books, chapters, and verses of the Peshitta.

1 The division of Chapters 3 and 4 at ca. 850 is strictly arbitrary. Due to the nature of this study, a detailed examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the East Syriac exegetical tradition produces a chapter whose length is nearly twice that of other chapters in this study. As a result, Chapters 3 and 4 have been divided in a manner that makes them as equal in length as possible, without dividing up any particular section.

2 Aḥob's sources will, in large part, be discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

3 This is, in part, the same order presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

4 While Aḥob's Psalm-related writings were not added to the *DGC* until the late 19th century (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875), the *DGC's* Aḥob Psalm-related writings are presented here for two reasons: 1) the *DGC's* original date is historically situated between the time of Bar Koni and Isho'dad, and 2) the *DGC* preserves the presumed original form of Aḥob's Psalm-related writings, whereas Isho'dad usually alters these same writings in his *Commentary on Psalms*. See Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii.

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3.1 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*

Nathniel of Shirzor's only surviving work is his *Cause of the Psalms*, which is an introductory treatise to the book of Psalms.[5] While previous scholarship has noted its similarities to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, no definitive proposal has yet been offered to explain the corresponding relationship of these two texts.[6] In this section, Nathniel and Aḥob's respective *Cause of the Psalms* will be compared, and it will be suggested that their textual relationship is best explained by Nathniel directly depending on Aḥob, rather than Aḥob borrowing from Nathniel or both drawing on a mutual source.

In the following translation of Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*,[7] comparable passages to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* have been offset in boldface brackets, in order to highlight their general placement within this treatise:[8]

5 For a further discussion of Nathniel's life and work, see Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

6 Van den Eynde recognized the similarities between Aḥob and Nathniel's respective *Cause of the Psalms* but did not compare the two texts. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1. Ter Haar Romeny initially suggested that Aḥob may be relying on Nathniel, though he did not offer any proof to support his proposition. However, in a subsequent publication, he seems to have altered his position: he footnoted a few comparable (English) phrases of Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* in his translation of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and hinted at the possibility that Nathniel relies on Aḥob. See Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 151 and idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 93, n. 8–9.

7 Vandenhoff edited and produced a Latin translation of this text, based on a single (otherwise unknown) Alqosh manuscript. See idem, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 13, *1*–15, *19* (Syriac), 24–26 (Latin). In editing all accessible witnesses of this text, my translation differs in several places from Vandenhoff's. For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

8 The full Syriac text of this treatise, which is found in Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms," 102–104, states:

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Again, by your power, our worshipped Lord, we write the *Cause of the Psalms of the blessed David,* which is composed by the holy Mar Nathniel, bishop of Shirzor. This (one) was killed with the crown of martyrdom for Christ with twelve other bishops in the days of the Persian king, Khosrow,[9] the son of Hormizd.[10] Introduction: {1}[All the prophets, together with the other holy books, each one of them has a certain [lacuna in LMSCV]. But another offers exhortation of good works, such as the Proverbs of Solomon and Qohelet and Bar Sira. However, another provides instruction in the confession (of faith) to people. And another (offers) the teaching of thanksgiving, such as (the books of) the prophets and the other Scriptures, which are rich in all these (respects), although a certain (benefit) might be found individually to be more abundant in (one of) them. But the book of Psalms shows all these benefits, while they are packed together in it] (ܟܬܒ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ... ܐܚܪ ܡ ܒܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܢ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ❖ ܕܝܢ ܐܚܪ ܒܝܢ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ❖ ...

9 Namely, Khosrow II (r. 590–628).

10 Namely, Hormizd IV (r. 579–590).

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ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܙܝܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܢܗܝܪ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ ❖ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܠܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ ... ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒ ❖ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܕܢܬܪ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܢܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ... ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬܒ ... ܗܟܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ

ܕܒܗܝܢ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܬܗܠܝܠ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܕܡ̈ܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܐ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܢܣܒ̈ܪ ܡܢ ܗܠ̈ܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ ܒܕ ܕܢܬ̈ܐ ܠܗ ܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܢܫܬ̈ܟܚ ܒܗ ܒܙ̈ܒܢܗ ܕܨ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܗ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܠܝ ܕܫ̈ܪܝܪ ܐ̈ܢܫ ܒܥ̈ܠܡܐ

	Nathniel (102, *5–12* and *13, 12–13* and *13*–103, *16, 16–22, 29–35,* 104, *38–39*)[18]	**Aḥob** (*20–23* and *44–63, 83–93, 63–73, 105–123, 187* and *188*)[19]
Passage 1	"All the prophets, together with the other holy books, each one of them has a certain … But another offers exhortation of good works, such as the Proverbs of Solomon and Qohelet and Bar Sira. However, another provides instruction in the confession (of faith) to people. And another (offers) the teaching of thanksgiving, such as (the books of) the prophets and the other Scriptures, which are rich in all these (respects), although a certain (benefit) might be found individually to be more abundant in (one of) them. But the book of Psalms shows all these benefits, while they are packed together in it" (ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܥܡ ܫܪ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ̈ܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ... ܐܠܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܐ̈ܦ ܗ̈ܠ ܕܢ ܡܠ̈ܦ ܒ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ... ܐ̈ܦ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܐ̈ܦ ܗ̈ܠ ܕܢ ܡܠ̈ܦ ܒ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ... ܐ̈ܦ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܐ̈ܦ ܗ̈ܠ ܕܢ ܡܠ̈ܦ ... ܐ̈ܦ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܐ̈ܦ ܗ̈ܠ ܕܢ ܡܠ̈ܦ ... ܐ̈ܦ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܐ̈ܦ ܗ̈ܠ ܕܢ ܡܠ̈ܦ ... ܐ̈ܦ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܐ̈ܦ ܗ̈ܠ ܕܢ ܡܠ̈ܦ ...)	"we find this (one), more than all books, excellent and abundant in advantages … For we find that it divides the word which (is) in the Holy Scriptures into four kinds: prophecy, I say, and history, and law writing, and wisdom, which is the fear of God. For no one of the Scriptures, by itself, possesses one of these and is deprived of these others. For, behold! In the books of the prophets there are also found past histories, and, again, in the books of the histories there is also found prophecy of things, which (are) to come, with exhortation and petition and thanksgiving; these are found scattered in all the Scriptures. But in this book of Psalms all these (are) collectively set, and it is composed, as it were, of some members and parts from all these" (ܟ̈ܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ...)

18 The text and line numbers are taken from the edition presented in Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms," 102–104, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

19 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

	Nathniel	Aḥob
		ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܩܠܩܠܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܕܒܟ̈ ܕܒܟ̈ ܕܒܟ̈ ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡ ܒܗ ܕܒܗ ܕܒܗ ܒܗ ܕܒܗ ܒܗ ܕܒܗ

(*cont.*)

	Nathniel	**Aḥob**
	reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and it sets forth many words about love and unity" (ܗܘ ܕܡܬܬ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܡܠܝ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܗܝܢ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܬܬ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܡܠܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܠ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܠ ܐܡܪ

(*cont.*)

	Nathniel	**Aḥob**
	ܕܡܫܟܚ ܐܢ ܠܘܡ ̣ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ̣ ܡܢܗ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܐܢ ܠܘܡ ̣ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ,ܡܥܘܕ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܟܠܗ)	ܟܬܒ̈ܐ : ܡܥܘܕ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ̣ ܡܢ ̣ ܟܠ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ̣ ܕܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܐܢ ܠܘܡ ̣ ̣ ̣

	Nathniel	Aḥob
Passage 1	"All the prophets" (𐡍𐡁𐡉𐡀 𐡊𐡋𐡄)	"In the books of the prophets" (𐡊𐡕𐡁 𐡍𐡁𐡉𐡀)
	"(the books of) the prophets" (𐡍𐡁𐡉𐡀)	
	"exhortation" (𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡅𐡕𐡀)	"exhortation" (𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡅𐡕𐡀)
	"thanksgiving" (𐡀𐡕𐡄𐡅𐡃𐡀)	"thanksgiving" (𐡀𐡕𐡄𐡅𐡃𐡀)
	"the other Scriptures" (𐡊𐡕𐡁 𐡊𐡀𐡓)	"in all the Scriptures" (𐡊𐡕𐡁 𐡊𐡋𐡄)
	"But the book of Psalms ... all these" (𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡊𐡋𐡄.𐡊𐡕𐡄𐡌𐡓 𐡅𐡌 𐡊𐡕𐡁)	"But in this book of Psalms all these" (𐡊𐡕𐡁 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡌𐡅 𐡊𐡕𐡄𐡌𐡓 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡌𐡅𐡓)
Passage 2	"as in an image of a king" (𐡊𐡌 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡊𐡋𐡉𐡕)	"like an image or statue of a king" (𐡊𐡌𐡀 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡊𐡋𐡕𐡌𐡀 𐡊𐡋𐡉)
	"colors" (𐡊𐡑𐡂)	"colors" (𐡊𐡑𐡂)
	"its advantages" (𐡌𐡅𐡕𐡓𐡀)	"advantages" (𐡀𐡕𐡅𐡕𐡓𐡀)[21]
Passage 3	"For it also tells about creatures and it explains about the Ruler, who puts an end (to the opponent of) these (things)" (𐡅𐡋 𐡃𐡁𐡓 𐡀𐡕𐡓 𐡋𐡇 𐡅𐡇 𐡀𐡌𐡓 𐡅𐡋 𐡃𐡁𐡓 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡌𐡋𐡊 𐡃𐡁𐡓 𐡊𐡑𐡓𐡕)	"For it also teaches about the Creator, and it explains about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things)" (𐡅𐡇 𐡋𐡌 𐡅𐡋 𐡃𐡁𐡓 𐡊𐡑𐡓𐡕 𐡅𐡋 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡅𐡋 𐡃𐡁𐡓 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡌𐡋𐡊 𐡅𐡋𐡀𐡌𐡓)
	"this world came into being by chance or as though from itself and moves along without the bridles of a ruler" (𐡌𐡑𐡀 𐡊𐡓 𐡌𐡋𐡊 𐡊𐡃𐡓𐡕 𐡌𐡋 𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡂 𐡋𐡀.𐡌𐡅 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡀𐡌𐡅 𐡀𐡓 𐡊𐡑𐡓𐡕)	"this world is ... and moves along without the bridles of a ruler" (𐡋𐡀 𐡌𐡅 𐡊𐡋𐡄 𐡏𐡓 𐡀𐡓 𐡊𐡑𐡓𐡕 𐡀𐡂𐡓)
	"about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and" (𐡀𐡇𐡓 𐡋 𐡏.𐡋𐡂𐡓 𐡀𐡕𐡓 𐡅𐡋 𐡊𐡑𐡓.𐡏𐡕𐡓)	"about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and" (𐡋 𐡏𐡕𐡓 𐡀𐡇𐡓 𐡋 𐡏 𐡋𐡂𐡓 𐡀𐡑𐡓𐡅𐡑𐡓)
	"about love" (𐡋 𐡅𐡇)	"about love" (𐡋 𐡅𐡇)

21 This Aḥob word is taken from the first comparable Aḥob text (i.e. Passage 1) above.

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(*cont.*)

	Nathniel	**Aḥob**
Passage 4	"For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away demons and gather angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) draw our redeemer, Christ himself, to their aid, and they will be deemed worthy of the grace of the Spirit" (ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܬܐܡܪ ܥܡ ܒܪܝܟܐ ܕܒܗ ܠܗܘ ܕܫܝܡ ܫܕܝ ܘܡܦܪܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܘܠܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝ ܡܫܟ ܐܦ ܠܦܪܩܠܝܛܐ ܕܟܠܢ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܒܥܙܪܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܬܚܫܒ ܠܗܘܢ)	"For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) also draw Christ himself, the redeemer of all, to their aid, and they will be deemed worthy of the grace of the Holy Spirit" (ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܬܐܡܪ ܥܡ ܒܪܝܟܐ ܕܒܗ ܠܗܘ ܕܫܝܡ ܫܕܝ ܘܡܦܪܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܦ ܠܦܪܩܠܝܛܐ ܕܟܠܢ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܒܥܙܪܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܬܚܫܒ ܠܗܘܢ)
	"For who is not acquainted with the manner of life of blessed people—those who, while they are on the earth" (ܕܡܢ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܚܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܟܐ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܐܡܪ)	"For who is not acquainted with the manner of life of blessed people—those who, while they are on the earth" (ܕܡܢ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܚܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܟܐ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܐܡܪ)
	"they imitate the angels, (those for) whom the cause of their unity and their musing in prayers is the study of the psalms?" (ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܥܠ ܗܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܥܠ ܗܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܥܠ ܗܢ ܕܡܢ ,ܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܫܒ)	"they become like the angels, those (for) whom the cause of their musing on spiritual (things) is the repetition of the psalms?" (ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܥܠ ܗܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܥܠ ܗܢ ܕܡܢ ,ܡܙܡܘܪ)
Passage 5	"pain" (ܟܐܒ)	"pains" (ܟܐܒܐ)
	"medicine" (ܐܣܝܐ)	"medicine" (ܐܣܝܐ)

Nathniel and Aḥob also use short and lengthy passages that are not comparable. Aside from introductory and closing formulas, summaries of these passages (including their line numbers) are the following:

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- Nathniel:
  - The book of Psalms teaches and gives various good things to people who seek to gain these things through it. (101, *22–29*)
  - People learn to endure beatings and temptations from the psalms, and they receive help from God in these difficult times. The psalms teach them how to give thanks. (101, *35*–102, *38*)
  - People should not just recite the psalms; they should learn the meaning of the words of the psalms, so that during the offices they can focus their thoughts in prayer to God. (102, *40–46*)
- Aḥob:
  - The book of Psalms has abundant advantages for those who examine its holy words. Every book of Scripture is written by the Spirit and through it all people can acquire the fear of God. (A quotation of 2 Tim 3:16.) (*3–20*)
  - Examples from the body and Paradise on how every biblical book teaches partially but the book of Psalms teaches completely. (*23–43*)
  - The book of Psalms contains prophecy, histories, praise, thanksgiving, admonition for appropriate ways of life, and examples of what to ask for in prayer, as well as examples of how to wait for them. All divine books are the image and mirror of divine knowledge, but the book of Psalms is more accurate than them. (*73–83*)
  - The book of Psalms is a guide, a lamp, and a depicter of the power, grace, justice, and patience of God, an entrance into divine knowledge and activity, and a promiser of advantages from serving God. Its holy words clothe people as with armor, so that they can confidently triumph in all wars. (*94–105*)
  - The holy Fathers justly determined that people should recite the psalms more than any other biblical book. A person needs to be able to recite the psalms in order to draw near to one of the ecclesiastical ranks, be considered a student, or a minister of the Church. David delivered his prophecy with pleasant sounds of various kinds of music, which quickly satiate the hearers and easily entice them to love his teaching. Secular songs do not satiate people, even though they too have sweet sounds. The sweetness of the psalms awoke the Hebrews from their drowsiness in the time of David. The psalms are easily recited, because they were spoken in meters. A teacher who seeks to compose a *Sogita* or an *ʿOnita*, takes material from the phrases of the psalms; however, these compositions do not satiate the perfect ones. The psalms contain all good things, including petition, fasting, prayer, repentance, imploring, worship, love, faith, clemency, hope, goodness, grace, understanding, knowledge, life, healing, and forgiveness of sins. (*123–187*)

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- Eden (*187*)
- The psalms are a bandage for wounds. David is the heart of God, and he is one who does God's will. The Fathers handed down the tradition that the psalms should be chanted more than any of the prophetic books for two broad reasons: 1) Christ is from the Davidic seed, and 2) David prophesied about Christ's divinity, humanity, passion, martyrdom, resurrection, and ascension. (An extended thanks to God for his divine goodness towards people.) (*188–206*)

Concerning the above evidence, there are three possible ways to explain the textual relationship between Nathniel and Aḥob's respective *Cause of the Psalms*: 1) both Nathniel and Aḥob depend on a mutual source, 2) Aḥob borrows from Nathniel, or 3) Nathniel borrows from Aḥob. Each of these options will be discussed.

The first possibility is that Nathniel and Aḥob share a mutual source. However, since there is no extant text with which one can compare with Nathniel and Aḥob's respective *Cause of the Psalms* nor is there a known text that once existed which can credibly be said to have contained all of the shared words and phrases detailed above, this proposal (in its present state) is an argument from silence and, thus, can safely be categorized as the least likely of the three options.

The second possibility is that Aḥob borrows from Nathniel. While this proposal seems theoretically reasonable, it has one noticeable issue: the large amount of material found in Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* that is not used in Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*, as is shown above. Though there are instances of East Syriac writers slightly developing a given Syriac source,[22] it is unlikely that Aḥob would expand Nathniel's text to such a significant degree and, thus, this proposal is arguably untenable.

The third possibility is that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob. Nathniel's five comparable passages to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* encompass the majority of his treatise, wherein they are largely presented in the same order as Aḥob's text (as is shown by the line numbers of the parallel Aḥob text in the first table above). While Nathniel uses similar and identical words and phrases from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, he often abbreviates Aḥob's parallel text. This includes 1) preserving the general theme of a passage while reworking its content, which is most notably seen in Passage 1, 2) omitting select adjectives, such as Aḥob's description of the demons and the angels as being "rebellious"

22 One example is that of Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion. For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.5. Psalm 5:4.

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(ܫܘܦܪܐ) and "holy" (ܩܕܝܫܐ), respectively, and 3) omitting verbose phraseology, such as Aḥob's description of the blessed people being those who "dwell in heaven in thought, and while they are corporeal" (ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܒܪܥܝܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܦܓܪܐ ܒܪܥܝܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ). Though Nathniel's third and fifth comparable passages are slight developments of the parallel text of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, his first, second, and fourth comparable passages are more concise than their parallel Aḥob text, suggesting that he preferred to abbreviate and/or rework particular parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* that interested him. This adheres to the general pattern that is found among later East Syriac writers, such as Theodore bar Koni, Ishoʿ bar Nun, and Ishoʿdad of Merv: they tend to abbreviate, rework, and/or summarize their earlier Syriac sources.[23] While the available evidence does not provide absolute proof that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob, it does allow one to conclude that the most reasonable explanation for the textual relationship of Nathniel and Aḥob's respective *Cause of the Psalms* is that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob. If this is accepted, Vandenhoff's remark that Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is simply Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*, with some additions,[24] can no longer be sustained.[25]

It is also worth noting that Van den Eynde suggested that, along with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* may be relying on Basil of Caesarea's (330–379) Prologue to Psalm 1 (which precedes his *Homily 10*).[26] Syriac translations of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1 were produced in the fifth century (which were quite free and prone to expansion by the inclusion of additional material), and they were likely known to Nathniel.[27] A comparison between Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* and Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1 reveals a few shared themes:

23 See, for instance, Chapter 3, Section 3.3. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*, Chapter 4, Section 4.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Ishoʿdad of Merv's Old Testament Exegesis, and Corrie Molenberg, "The Interpreter Interpreted: Išoʿ bar Nun's Selected Questions on the Old Testament" (Doctoraat in de Letteren; Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1990), 335.

24 Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5–7 (Latin).

25 Vandenhoff situated Aḥob in the late 10th century (following Assemani) and viewed him as largely depending upon Nathniel. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5, n. 1; 7, n. 1 (Latin).

26 Van den Eynde may have made this observation based (in part) on an earlier comment by Vandenhoff, the latter of whom noted that several similarities existed between Nathniel and Basil. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 7, n. 2 (Latin) and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1.

27 For a further discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

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Nathniel (102, *5–12* and *13*, 103, *19–22*, *29–31*, *36–*104, *37*, *40*)[28]	**Basil** (141r, col. 1, *21*-col. 2, *10*, 142r, col. 1, *26–27* and *30*-col. 2, *2* and *13–15* and 143r, col. 1, *26–29* and col. 2, *19–32*, 142r, col. 2, *23–29*, 143r, col. 1, *7–10* and *31–32*, 141r, col. 1, *11* and *13–17*)[29]
"All the prophets, together with the other holy books, each one of them has a certain … But another offers exhortation of good works, such as the Proverbs of Solomon and Qohelet and Bar Sira. However, another provides instruction in the confession (of faith) to people. And another (offers) the teaching of thanksgiving, such as (the books of) the prophets and the other Scriptures, which are rich in all these (respects), although a certain (benefit) might be found individually to be more abundant in (one of) them. But the book of Psalms shows all these benefits, while they are packed together in it" (ܟܬܒ ܚܕ ܕܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܒ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܟ̈ܢܫ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ... ܐܚܪ̈ ܠܐ ܐܚܪ ܡܫܠ̈ܝ ❖ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܠ̈ܦ ܐܝܠ ܕܒ ܡܠ̈ܦ ❖ ܕܡܬܟ̈ܢܫ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܠ̈ܦ ❖ ܕܒ ܒ̈ܒ ܒ̈ܒ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ.	"Now, the instruction which we learn from the prophets is one thing, and the improving stories (which we learn) from the book of Judges and the book(s) of Kings are different in form, and the admonition from the (books of) Law is (of) another order, and the Proverbs and allegories that (derive) from the wisdom of Solomon are a different form. And although the fear of God is inscribed in all of them, in all (their) different-forms, yet their narrative-styles differ from one another. But in the book of the holy Psalms (that which is) beneficial is gathered together from all the Scriptures, and the discernment of all of them is inscribed in it" (ܟܬܒ ܚܕ ܕܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܫ ܕܒ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܟ̈ܢܫ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܗ ܕܒ ܡܠ̈ܦ ܐܝܠ ܕܒ ܡܠ̈ܦ ❖ ܕܒ ܒ̈ܒ ܒ̈ܒ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ.

28 The text and line numbers are taken from the edition presented in Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms," 102–104, and the English translation is taken from the translation presented at the beginning of this section.

29 The text, folios, and column numbers are taken from ms. British Library, Add. 14,543 (6th century), ff. 141r, col. 1, *1*–144r, col. 1, *8*, and the English translation is taken from an unpublished translation of this text, which was produced by Seth M. Stadel and David G. K. Taylor. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

Nathniel	Basil
ܟܬܒ ❊ ܘܗܝ ܡܠܦ ܠܢ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܕܫܦܪ ܘܕܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܡ ܢܬܪܚܩ ... ܘܡ ܕܡܙܡܪ ܒܬ ܕܘܝܕ)	ܟܝ ܗܢ ܡܝܢ ܕܐܡܬܚܫܟ ܠܗ ܕܫܦܪ ❊ ܘܗܝ ܕܡܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܘܕܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ... ܘܡ ܕܡܙܡܪ ܒܬ ܕܘܝܕ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ ܕܢܥܒܕ ... ܘܡ ܕܡܙܡܪ ܒܬ ܕܘܝܕ)
“And it teaches those (things) which (are) right to do and from which (things it is right) to distance oneself. And it tells about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and it sets forth many words about love and unity. And it teaches a confession (that is) right for sinners to confess” (ܡܠܐ ܚܟܡܬ ܕܡܘܕܝܐ ܠܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܕܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܕܢܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܘܕܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ... ܘܡ ܕܡܙܡܪ ܒܬ ܕܘܝܕ)	“And they are instruction for those who are uninstructed ... For the psalms are consolidators of friendship, and they are bringers together of those who are distanced, and they are the unification of those who are divided, and they are the conciliators of (those in) enmity ... For the greatest of good things, which is true love ... or whether they show the manner of true repentance ... and in them is harshly set down the threat of future judgement; and in them is encouragingly written the hope of the resurrection; and they justly expound the fear of present torment; and in them the promises of the glorious life are perceived; and in them the unveilings of the glorious mysteries are evident” (ܟܠ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܝ ܟܬܒ ܕܐܝ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܗ ܟܬܒ ... ܡܙ ܟܡܐ ܕܐܝ ܕܡܬܚܫܦ ܟܬܒ. ܟܠܐ ܕܐܝ ܟܬܒ ... ܟܬܒܚܠܚܐ ܕܐܝ ܒܗ ܟܬܒ ... ܟܝܢ ,ܡܙܡܪ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܗ ܟܬܒ ... ܡܟ ܕܐܝ ܟܬܒ[.] ܕܡܙ ܒܟܬܒ ܕܐܝ ܟܬܒ. ܟܬܒ ܒܟܬܒ ܕܐܝ ܟܬܒ ܕܐܝ ܒܗ ܡܙ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܬܚܫܦ ܟܬܒ[.] ܕܡܙ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܟܬܒ[.] ܕܡܙ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܬܚܫܦ ܟܬܒ)

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(*cont.*)

Nathniel	**Basil**
"For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away demons and gather angels to them" (ܟ ܡܠܝܢ ܕ ܟܬܝܒ ܒ ܠܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܕܫܕ ܫܕ ܘܟܢܫ ܡܠܐܟ ܠܘܬܗ ܡܬܟ.)	"The psalms, then, are truly banishers of demons, and in the same manner as angels is the help that we receive from them" (ܡܙܡܘܪ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ ܕܫܕ ܫܕ ܘܟܢܫ ܡܠܐܟ ܠܘܬ ܡ ܕ ܡ)
"they learn endurance from the psalms" (ܟ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܒ ܟܬܒ)	"For what can you not learn from the psalms in their truth? … or whether (they reveal) the measure of patience" (ܟ ܡ ܕ ܒ ܐ ܒ ܐ ... ܕ ܟ)
"Therefore, because all of these remedies are found in the book of Psalms" (ܡ ܟ ܕ ܟ ܒ ܕ)	"that all people should find cures for the sicknesses of their sins from the holy Scriptures" (. ...)

The themes shared between Nathniel and Basil in the above table are the following:

1) Other biblical books teach partially, while the Psalms teach completely
2) Contrasts between the diligent and the wicked
3) Love, unity, and repentance
4) Reciting the Psalms drives away demons
5) Those who recite the Psalms gather angels to them
6) Endurance from the Psalms
7) Remedies

While the above examples demonstrate that Nathniel draws from and reworks Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, it appears to have minimally influenced his *Cause of the Psalms*. For instance, both Basil and Nathniel mention such things as 1) the book of Proverbs, 2) sinners repenting, 3) the acquisition of

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endurance/patience, and 4) remedies/remedy, none of which are found in Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. As a result, it can be reasonably established that Nathniel's predominant source was Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and, secondarily, Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1.[30] Nathniel's large number of borrowed themes from Aḥob (compared to Basil) offers further evidence that he draws primarily from Aḥob and not from Basil.

3.2 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*,[31] each subsection will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* commentary on the same verse(s), in which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion within the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, c) if known, a proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion; 4) the possible reason(s) why and the manner by which the unknown author of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* included each Aḥob scholion in his commentary on (a) particular verse(s).

3.2.1 *Genesis 15:9–10*

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9–10 states:

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܘܣܒ ܠܝ [9]	[9] And he[32] said to him,[33] "Take
ܬܠܬܐ ܥܪܝܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܕܟܪ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
ܘܬܠܬܐ ܥܪܝ.	and a three-year-old goat
ܘܬܪ ܘܓܘܙܠܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ.	and a turtle dove and a young dove."
ܘܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ [10]	[10] And he[34] took all these (animals),

30 It is also possible that Nathniel draws on lost or unknown Introductions to the Psalms.

31 The critical editions used in this section are the following: Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text) and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.).

32 Namely, God.

33 Namely, Abram.

34 Namely, Abram.

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ܘܦܠܓ̈ܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܘ ܘܣܝܡ	and he divided them equally and he placed
ܐܝܫ ܠܡܘܠ ܚܒܪܗ.	(each) member opposite its fellow.
ܘܠܛܝܪ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ.	But he did not divide the birds.

The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* on these same verses states:[35]

> [9] And because, being a man, he was still doubtful in his mind, concerning all these promises that God had promised him, (and wondering) how and when these (things) could be (realized, God) then takes away his uncertainty and speaks (to him) by means of three victims that he commands him to offer. Therefore, he commanded (Abram) to offer him (three) different animals: *a calf* (ܥܓܠܐ), *a ram* (ܕܟܪܐ), *a goat* (ܥܬܘܕ), *and* (also) *a turtle dove and a young dove*. (He says) *take a three-year-old* (ܬܠܬܝܢ) *calf*, that is to say, (one that is) three years old. But by *the calf*, he[36] indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt (ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܡ ܥܠ ܕܥܠ ܐܘܠ ܕܟܝ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܝ), which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued (ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ), like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke (ܕܠܐ ܐܬܥܠ ܥܠ ܥܘܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܛܠ). But, again, by the *ram* he[37] indicates the second generation (ܕܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܟܝ ܥܠ ܕܟܝ), which although (a ram is) smaller

35 The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*–74, *15*, states:

ܐܬܥܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ,ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠ̈ܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ [9]
ܐܬܥܠ ܠܗ ܡܢ ,ܚܫܝܫ ܥܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܡܬܝ ܕܐܬܝ ܕܐܡܪ ,ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ
ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܣܒ ,ܬܠܬ ܕܒܚ̈ܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܗ. ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܗܕܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܕܐܡܪ ,ܕܐܝ ܕܐܬܝ ܕܐܡܪ ,ܥܓܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ,ܕܐܝ ܕܐܬܝ

and tamer than a calf (ܥܓܠܐ ܕܡ ܝܬܝܪܐ ܘܐܚܝܐ), it is, however, better and stronger than a goat (ܥܬܘ ܕܡ ܓܕܝܐ ܘܡ ܬܠܐ). But by the *goat* he[38] indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation (ܓܠ [39]ܢܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܥܝܢ ܥܡܐ ܥܬܒܕܘܬܐ). Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) three and *three years old* (ܥܒܠܘܬ), he[40] makes known the three generations (ܬܠܬ ܥܒܠ): *Levi* (ܠܘ), and *Kohath* (ܩܗܬ), and *Amram* (ܥܡܪܡ).[41] [10] But that (phrase) *he*[42] *divided them equally* (ܦܠܓ ܒܡܪܕܐ ܫܘܝ), that (is) to say, that the parts of each one of them are arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive (ܩܒܠܝ ,ܘܐܒܡܪ ܥܡ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐ. ܕܐ ܠܩܒܠ ܕܐ ܐܒܩܫ). (There were) three rows (ܬܠܬ ܥܒܠ), as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar (ܥܠܠܝ ܥܡܪܡ ܓܠ ܥܒܡܙܐ ܥܝܢܒܡܟ). *He*[43] *places* (*each*) *member opposite its fellow* (ܐܝܟ ܩܒܠ ܥܟܐ ... ܥܥܐ), that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off (ܐܡܪ ܥܟܐ ܩܒܠ ܥܠܒ). By means of their division (ܒܐܠܦܐ), he[44] makes known their[45] vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt (ܥܝܢ ܥܡܒ ܠܡܒܐ ܒܐܒܕܘܬܐ ܒܐܒܕܐܣܬܐ ܒܐܒܕܘܬܐ). But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow (ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܝܟܠ ܐܚܕ ܠܡܥܕܪ ܠܚܒܪܗ). But (that phrase) *he*[46] *did not divide the birds* (ܦܠܓ ܠܐ ... ܥܒܙܐ) indicates their[47] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness (ܥܬܝ ܓܠ ܒܐܒܕܘܬܐ ܒܐܒܕܐ ܥܝܢ ܥܬܝܪܬܐ), for they were indeed going, somehow (ܐܝ ܡܢ), to fly from Egypt (ܥܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܡ).[48]

38 Namely, Moses.

39 This word is preserved in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* as ܥܬܝ; however, this is a mistake, and Van Rompay suggests reading it as ܝܬ. See idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 74, n. 10. In subsequent subsections of Chapter 4, where this word is discussed in connection with Gen 15:9, it is presented as ܝܬ.

40 Namely, Moses.

41 Cf. Exod 6:16, 18.

42 Namely, Abram.

43 Namely, Abram.

44 Namely, Moses.

45 Namely, the Israelites.

46 Namely, Abram.

47 Namely, the Israelites.

48 My translation is based on Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), 95–96.

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The later commentary tradition (i.e. the *Anonymous Commentary*) ascribes this text to Aḥob;[49] Van Rompay has also made this observation.[50] Furthermore, the style and exegetical approach are consistent with Aḥob's exegetical tendencies.[51] For these reasons, Aḥob is arguably the source of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* insights into the second half of v. 9 and all of v. 10 of Gen 15.[52] In v. 9 of this lengthy scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand what the "calf" (ܥܓܠܐ), the "ram" (ܬܪܝܢ), and the "goat" (ܥܬܘ) represent. He suggests that each of these three animals, which are each "three years old" (ܬܠܬܝܢ), depicts "three generations" (ܬܠܬ ܬܠܬ) of Israelites, namely "Levi" (ܠܘܝ), "Kohath" (ܩܗܬ), and "Amram" (ܥܡܪܡ). The calf represents Levi, in that it "indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt" (ܡܫܝ ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡ). The ram represents Kohath, in that it "indicates the second generation" (ܡܫܝ ܗܘ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܗܘ). The goat represents Amram, in that it "indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation" (ܡܫܝ ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܒܥܒܘܕܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ).[53] Aḥob pairs the calf with Levi, based on perceived similar imagery: just as Levi did not experience bondage, so a calf is "not yet subdued … (and) has not yet been bound to the yoke" (ܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ … ܘܠܐ ܐܬܩܛܪ ܒܢܝܪ ܥܠ ܥܘܠܐ). In a similar way, he pairs the ram with Kohath: just as Kohath is younger than Levi, so a ram is "smaller and tamer than a calf" (ܙܥܘܪ ܘܡܫܟܝܚ ܡܢ ܥܓܠܐ). Aḥob also insists that a ram is "better and stronger than a goat" (ܬܩܝܦ ܘܚܫܝܒ ܡܢ ܥܬܘ). Unlike the pairing of calf/Levi and ram/Kohath, Aḥob only alludes to the pairing of the goat with Amram by suggesting that the goat is the smallest and/or weakest of the three animals, as attested by the harsh subjection of the third generation (i.e. Amram).

In his commentary on v. 10, Aḥob begins by suggesting the phrase "he divided them equally" (ܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܨܥ) means that the animal parts were "arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive" (ܣܕܝܪ

49 For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.1. Genesis 15:9–10.

50 See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xlii–xliii.

51 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.8. The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

52 There is a further discussion of aspects of v. 9, specifically concerning the "turtle dove" (ܬܘܪܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ), following v. 10. However, it is unlikely that this particular text originates from Aḥob for two related reasons: 1) it is placed after v. 10, and 2) with one brief exception (found in his Psalm 68:16–17 scholion), Aḥob never returns to comment on a preceding verse once he has moved on to another verse. For a further discussion of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.15. Psalm 68:16–17.

53 Amram is Moses and Aaron's father. See Exod 6:20.

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ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܚܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓ). While it is not fully clear what he means by the phrase "as if that (animal) is alive" (ܐܝܟ ܚܝ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ), Aḥob may be trying to understand the meaning of the Peshitta word "equally" (ܫܘܝܐ). If this is accepted, he likely seeks to explain that the animals were equally divided and carefully arranged in a manner that gave the appearance of them still being whole (i.e. alive). In conveying this, Aḥob arguably wishes to assert that Abram did not aimlessly divide the animals and/or pile their parts in an unequal manner. He then asserts that these animals were arranged in "three rows" (ܬܠܬ ܣܕܪܐ). He draws this detail, not from the Peshitta, but from a reflection on the common Eucharistic practice of his time, in which (as he states) "the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar" (ܟܕ ܡܬܣܕܪ ܠܚܡܐ ܥܠ ܦܝܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܚܐ).[54] In the second half of his commentary on v. 10, Aḥob largely focuses on the Peshitta phrase "he places[55] (each) member opposite its fellow" (ܣܡ ܐܝܫ ܠܡܘܟܝܗ ... ܡܩܒܠ). He suggests this phrase means that when the animals were cut apart, their respective members were set "opposite the member from which it was cut off" (ܡܩܒܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܐܬܩܛܥ ܐܝܫ ܠܡܘܟܝܗ). By "their division" (ܦܠܓܘܬܗ) and separation into facing parts, Aḥob argues that these dismembered animal parts depict two things about the Israelites: 1) "their vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt" (ܠܡܥܒܕ ܒܡܨܪܝܡ ܕܗܘ ܥܬܝܕ ܠܡܗܘ ܡܬܥܢܝܢ), and 2) their collective bondage restricted any particular individual from being "able to help its fellow" (ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܐ ܐܝܫ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܠܚܒܪܗ). Aḥob concludes his scholion with a ray of hope for the Israelites, in that he briefly focuses on the Peshitta phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܦܨܪ̈ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ ...). He suggests that this phrase "indicates their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness" (ܡܫܡܥ ܕܗܘ ܚܕ ܠܒ ܘܚܕ ܒܗܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܐܚܕܘܬܐ). While Aḥob is certain that they will be freed from their bondage in Egypt, he does not find any specific allusions, in Gen 15:9–10, as to how exactly the Israelites will ultimately "fly from Egypt" (ܠܡܥܘܦ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܡ).[56] Since he

54 For a further discussion of Aḥob's understanding of the Eucharistic bread, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.2.1. The East Syriac Liturgy.

55 Aḥob uses ܡܩܒܠ, i.e. the active participle form, rather than ܩܒܠ, which is the standard Peshitta rendering of this word. The only exception is a 10th-century Peshitta manuscript (10l1), in which the phrase "he placed (each) member opposite its fellow" (ܟܕ ܩܒܠ ܐܝܫ ܠܡܘܟܝܗ) is omitted.

56 Aḥob seems to be using (or at least bordering on using) allegorical interpretation in his discussion of the "birds" (ܦܨܪ̈) and its indication that the Israelites were going "to fly" (ܠܡܥܘܦ) from Egypt. For a discussion of Aḥob's typological exegesis, see Chapter 5, Section 5.8. The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

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knows it will occur, Aḥob suggests—likely based on the fact that he finds no indicators up to this point in the text of Peshitta Genesis—that it will happen "somehow" (ܐܡ ܡܚܡܪ).

The unknown author of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* has taken over Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, in large part, as his own commentary on these same verses. While it is unclear if he alters it in any way (due to the fact that this is the earliest attestation of this Aḥob scholion), he arguably views this scholion as authoritative in its own right and, thus, he presents it in an anonymized form, without commenting on it. He does, however, offer some introductory and concluding remarks on v. 9, both of which bracket Aḥob's scholion: the former, in many ways, functions as an extended discussion of vv. 7–8;[57] the latter clarifies the symbolic meaning of the "turtle dove" (ܟܣܬܘܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪܬ ܝܘܢܐ), neither animal of which was commented on, by name,[58] by Aḥob.

3.2.2 *Genesis 50:10*

According to the Peshitta, Gen 50:10 states:

ܘܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢܐ ܕܐܛܕ	And they[59] came to the threshing floors
ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢܐ.	of Aṭar, which (are) beyond the Jordan.
ܘܒܟܘ ܬܡܢ	And they mourned there
ܒܟܝܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܬܩܝܦܐ.	(with) a great and loud mourning.
ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐܒܝܗ ܐܒܠ ,ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡ	And he[60] made a lamentation for his father[61]
ܟܕ ܗܘܘ.	(for) seven days.

57 Gen 15:7–8 states, "[7] And he said to him, 'I am the Lord, your God, who brought you out from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you this land to possess it.' [8] And Abram said, 'Lord God, by what (means) will I know that I will possess it?'" (ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܕܐܦܩܟ ܡܢ ܐܘܪ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܟ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܡܪܬ. [7] ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܡ. ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܝܡ ܒܡܐ ܐܕܥ ܕܐܪܬ ܐܢܐ ܢܪܬ. [8] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܠܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܥܡܝ ܒܪ ܫܢ ܬܠܬ ܥܓܠܬܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܥܙܬܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܐܝܠܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܥܦܪ ܘܬܠܬ ܝܘܢܐ).

58 While Aḥob briefly comments on the Peshitta phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܦܠܓ ܠܐ ܥܒܝܕ) at the end of his Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, he does not discuss the turtle dove and the young dove by name, as he had done with the calf, the ram, and the goat.

59 Namely, Joseph and a company of people, including his brothers and the elders of the land of Egypt.

60 Namely, Joseph.

61 Namely, Jacob.

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The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* on this same verse states:[62]

> *And they came to the threshing floors of Aṭar* (ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ), *which* (*are*) *beyond the Jordan. Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb (ܐܬܪ ܩܒܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ), as he[63] calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket (ܩܘܦ ܕܐܬܚܡܠ ܒܬܒܘܬܐ) a "*dufnā*" (ܕܘܦܢܐ, mummy case).[64] That (phrase) *beyond the Jordan*, that is to say, from that place there is a ford (by) which people cross *the Jordan*. He[65] says *the threshing floors* of the tomb (ܓܘܪܢ ܕܩܒܪܐ), given that that tomb was in a field, while threshing floor(s) were surrounding it, where the piles (of sheaves) are put. But there, in front of that tomb, *he made a lamentation for his father*, although up till then the corpse was not (yet) introduced into the tomb, (*for*) *seven days*.[66]

For nearly the same reasons presented in Subsection 3.2.1. above,[67] the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* anonymized references to the meaning of Aṭar and to *dufnā* (all of which are inserted within the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* own commentary on Gen 50:10) arguably originate from Aḥob. In his three fragments on Genesis 50:10, Aḥob is trying to understand two things: 1) the reason why Joseph and a company of people stopped at some "threshing floors" (ܓܘܪܢ) to mourn Jacob's death and 2) the meaning of Aṭar (ܐܬܪ),[68] the latter of which is part of the Peshitta phrase "the threshing floors of Aṭar" (ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ). Since threshing floors are not an obvious place for mourning, Aḥob reinterprets what is clearly a place name as a reference to a tomb:

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62 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 128, *14–21*, states:
ܩܒܪ ܡܢ. ܩܒܪ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܬܪ. ܕܒܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܟܬ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܬܪ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ. ܗܘ ܒܥܒܪ ܩܒܪܐ ܕ. ܩܘܦܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܡܠ ܒܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܐܡ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܡܩܒܪ ܠܗ. ܐܬܪ ܩܒܪܐ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܒ ܠܒܝܬ ܕܟܬ ܒܚܩܠ ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܒ ܡܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܡܩܒܪ ܠܗ. ܐܬܪ ܩܒܪܐ

"the threshing floors of the tomb" (ܪܓܢ ܕܒܝܬܐ). The preposition "of" (ܕ) in this phrase is very important to Aḥob, because he does not view the threshing floors themselves as the tomb; they surround the tomb. Additionally, Aḥob draws attention to Gen 50:26,[69] and he cites "coffin" (ܐܪܘܢܐ) and "casket" (ܬܒܘܬܐ)—which are the usual Syriac words for a coffin—as the interpretation for the *hapax legomenon* "*dufnā*" (ܕܘܦܢܐ), meaning "mummy case." The internal logic of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 fragments suggest that he is making two further observations: 1) he perceives the threshing floors of Aṭar as being part of the burial ground in which Jacob was ultimately buried,[70] and 2) he makes the logical connection that, since Joseph was put in a mummy case in Egypt, the location of Jacob's tomb would also bear an Egyptian name. Thus, he insists that "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܪܓܢ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܬܪ).

The unknown author of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* also seeks to understand the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "the threshing floors of Aṭar" (ܐܬܪ ܪܓܢ). He selects three relevant phrases from Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion[71]—a scholion that was once arguably longer in its original form[72]—and he alters their order (from their likely original presentation) for the purpose of furthering his own discussion of the threshing floors of Aṭar; his preservation of parts of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion is the earliest attestation of this scholion in general. While it can only be assumed that the unknown author of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* reworks two of the original Aḥobian phrases to arrive at "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" and "he calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a '*dufnā*,'" it can be known that his phrase "the threshing floors of the tomb" is a slight revision of the original, which arguably stated, "The *threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb" (ܪܓܢ ܐܬܪ ܕܒܝܬܐ).[73] Beyond this, he does not engage with these three Aḥobian phrases; rather, he presents

69 Gen 50:26 states, "And Joseph died at 110 years (of age). They embalmed him, and they placed him in a mummy case in Egypt" (ܘܡܬ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܚܢܛܘܗܝ ܘܣܝܡܘ ܐܘܪܢܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ).

70 According to Gen 50:13, Jacob was "buried in the double cave of the field, which (is) the field Abraham bought (to have as) property for a tomb" (ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܚܩܠܐ ܕܩܢܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܐܚܙܬ ܒܪ ܩܒܘܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܦܪܘܢ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܕܡܡܪܐ).

71 It is unclear why the unknown author of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* does not reference Aḥob by name as his source for parts of his discussion of Gen 50:10. He takes a significantly different stance with respect to the title "Rabban," which he cites (in various forms) 103 times throughout what is extant of his commentary. See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxvii.

72 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

73 For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.2. Genesis 50:10.

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them as glosses for Aṭar, dufnā, and threshing floors, likely because the precise meaning of these words was unclear to him.

3.3 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*

In the following examination of Aḥob's exegetical works in Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*,[74] both subsections will be arranged according to the general order set forth in the *Scholion*. Subsection 3.3.1. Genesis 15:9–10 will contain four parts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verses under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) Bar Koni's question and answer on the same verses, in which fragments of an Aḥob scholion are preserved; 3) a presentation of the phrases which Bar Koni has either altered or omitted from this Aḥob scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase; 4) the possible reason why and the manner by which Bar Koni included this Aḥob scholion in his *Scholion*. Due to the nature of the text, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms* will be presented in a slightly modified format.

3.3.1 *Genesis 15:9–10*

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9–10 states:

[9] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒ ܠܝ	[9] And he[75] said to him,[76] "Take
ܬܠܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܥܓܠܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
ܘܥܙܐ ܕܒܪ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ.	and a three-year-old goat
ܘܬܪܬܐ ܘܓܘܙܠܐ ܨܥܝܪܐ.	and a turtle dove and a young dove."
[10] ܘܢܣܒ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܨܥ.	[10] And he[77] took all these (animals),
ܘܐܦܠ ܒܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܘܣܡ ܐܝܫ ܩܒܠ ܚܒܪܗ.	and he divided them equally and he placed
ܘܬܘܪܐ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ.	(each) member opposite its fellow.
	But he did not divide the birds.

74 The critical editions used in this section are the following: Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1); Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1); Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (text); Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text).

75 Namely, God.

76 Namely, Abram.

77 Namely, Abram.

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Bar Koni's commentary on these same verses in *Memra* II, 139 states:[78]

> What is the reason for those three sacrifices, which Abraham offered? (ܗܵܝܟܵܢ ܕܲܥܒܲܕ ܬܠܬ ܕܲܒ̈ܚܹ̈ ܐܲܒ̈ܪ̈ܗܵܡ ܕܲܩܪܹ̈ܒ ܐܲܒ̈ܪ̈ܗܵܡ ܐ̱ܘ ܡ̈ܢ ܡ̈ܛ̈ܵܥ̈ܵ) Because many promises were (made) to Abraham concerning the abundance of his race and the advantage(s) of the land of Canaan and, indeed, as a man, he was doubtful (about) how these (things) could happen and when, in advance (of) our Lord God dissolving the uncertainty of the member of his[79] (divine) household, by means of the three sacrifices which he[80] commanded him[81] to offer. And, as if in a figure, he[82] indicated for him[83] by this sacrifice all (the things) which his offspring were going to endure (ܟܠ̈ܡ ܥܲܡ̈ܠ̈ܵ ܕ̱ܠ. ܠ̱ܗ ܒ̈ܥܹ̈ܐ ܗ̱ܘ ܕ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܗܵܡ ܒ̈ܢ̈ܘ̈ܗ̈ܝ ܕ̈ܥ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܠ̈ܡ̈ ܠ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ܚ̈ܫ̈ܒ ܒ̈ܥ̈ܘ̈ܬܹ̈). But the three different animals that he commanded him to offer (were) [9] *a calf, a ram, a goat, and* (also) *a turtle dove and a young dove*, and each one of the animals was *three years old*. But their threeness indicated the three generations who were going to be

78 The Syriac text of this question and answer, which is found in Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 130, *16*–131, *21*, states:

ܗܵܝܟܵܢ ܕܲܥܒܲܕ ܬܠܬ ܕܲܒ̈ܚܹ̈ ܐܲܒ̈ܪ̈ܗܵܡ ܕܲܩܪܹ̈ܒ ܐܲܒ̈ܪ̈ܗܵܡ ܐ̱ܘ ܡ̈ܢ ܡ̈ܛ̈ܵܥ̈ܵ ܕ̈ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܗܵܡ ܒ̈ܣ̈ܓ̈ܝ̈ܐ̈ ܕ̈ܙ̈ܪ̈ܥܹ̈ ܘ̈ܒ̈ܛ̈ܝ̈ܒ̈ܘ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܪ̈ܥ̈ܵ ܕ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ܥ̈ܵܢ̈ ܘ̈ܐ̱ܦ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ ܐ̱ܢ̈ܫ̈ܵ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܬ̈ܪ̈ܥ̈ܝ̈ ܒ̈ܗ̈ ܐ̈ܝ̈ܟ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ ܗ̱ܘ ܕ̈ܢ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܘ̈ܒ̈ܡ̈ܐ̈ ܒ̈ܙ̈ܒ̈ܢ̈ ܗ̱ܘ ܕ̈ܢ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܒ̈ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܢ̈ ܝ̈ܫ̈ܘ̈ܥ̈ ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ̈ ܐ̱ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ̈ ܒ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܒ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ ܗ̱ܘ ܕ̈ܢ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܒ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ܠ̈ ܘ̈ܒ̈ܐ̈ܝ̈ܟ̈ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܝ̈ܟ̈ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܦ

enslaved in Egypt: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*[84] (ܕܝܠܗ[85] ܕܬܠܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܘܠܩܗܬ ܘܠܥܡܪܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܬܠܬ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܘܕܥܢ ܗܘ ܕܦܩܕ ܥܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܘܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܢ ܕܐܦ ܒܥܠ ܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ

Genesis 15:9

Bar Koni **(130, *22*–131, *1*, *1*–*4*, *4*–*5*, *6*–*9*)**[93]	**Aḥob** **(74, *2*–*3*, *3*–*4*, 73, *25*–74, *2*)**[94]
"And, as if in a figure, he indicated for him by this sacrifice all (the things) which his offspring were going to endure" (ܐܦ ܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܡܬܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܟܠ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܙܪܥܗ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܠܡܣܒܠ ܠܗ.)	"But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation" (ܒܥܣܐ ܡܫܡܥ ܠܢ ܗܘ ܕܟܝ ܥܠ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܪܗܒ ܫܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ)
"But the three different animals that he commanded him to offer (were) *a calf, a ram a goat, and* (also) *a turtle dove and a young dove*, and each one of the animals was *three years old*" (ܐܦ ܗܠܝ ܕܬܠܬ ܒܥܝܪ ܚܕ ܕܒܬ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܥܓܠ ܬܠܝ ܘܐܝܠ ܥܙ ܘܬܪ ܘܚܘܪܬܐ ܘܒܢ ܝܘܢܐ ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܒܥܠܝ ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܢ ܒܥܠ ܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܥܓܠ ܬܠܝ ܘܐܝܠ ܥܙ ܘܬܪ ܘܚܘܪܬܐ ܘܒܢ ܝܘܢܐ ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܒܥܠܝ ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܢ ܒܥܠ ܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܕ)	(Does Not Use)
"But their threeness indicated the three generations who were going to be enslaved in Egypt" (ܡܫܡܥ ܠܢ ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܬܠܬ ܕܪܗܒ ܫܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܗܘ ܥܬܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܐ)	"Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) three and *three years old*, he makes known the three generations" (ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܟܝ ܒܗܕ ܕܒܬ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܥܓܠ ܬܠܝ ܘܐܝܠ ܥܙ ܘܬܪ ܘܚܘܪܬܐ ܘܒܢ ܝܘܢܐ ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܒܥܠܝ ܗܘ ܕ)
"Likewise, (the fact) that they were three (animals also) makes this known. But that he commanded him to offer these animals was a sign that he also desired his sons to offer these (sacrifices) to	(Does Not Use)

93 The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 130, *16*–131, *21*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

94 The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*–74, *15*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9–10.

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(*cont.*)

Bar Koni	**Aḥob**
him" (ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܦ ܒܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܫܡܥ ܠܗ ܒܩܠܗ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܒܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ)	
(Omits)	"But by the *calf*, he indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke. But, again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat" (ܠܥܓܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܒܟܝ ܒܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܡ. ܕܒܟܝ ܒܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܟܝܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܟܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܓܠ ܚܕܬ. ܘܫܒ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܒܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ ܥܕܡ. ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܒܟܝ ܒܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܬܪ ܕܐܦ ܒܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܟܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܓܠ ܚܕܬ. ܘ

(*cont.*)

Bar Koni	**Aḥob**
"But their division makes known the vexation and the misery they (were) going" (ܗܘ ܕܦܘܠܓܗ ܡ ܕܡܚܠܦ ܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܥܠ ܕܡܫܟ ܘܕܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܙܠܝܢ)	"By means of their division, he makes known their vexation and their misery, which they were going" (ܗܘ ܕܡ ܕܦܘܠܓܗ ܕܡܚܠܦ ܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܥܠ ܕܡܫܟ ܘܕܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܙܠܝܢ)
"when they (were) looking at each other" (ܕ ܣܒܝ ܐ ܕ)	"they were looking at each other" (ܕ ܣܒܝ ܐ ܕ)
"as he was commanded by God. For, also in the Law, (a bird) was not divided: *He will tear it apart between its wing*(*s*)*, but he will not divide* (*it*)" (ܟ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܠ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ

(*cont.*)

Bar Koni	Aḥob
(Omits)	"that (is) to say, that the parts of each one of them are arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive. (There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar. He places (*each*) *member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off" (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܝܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܚܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܠܚܡܐ ܕܦܪܝܣܐ ܡܬܣܕܪ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ. ܗܘ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܐܝܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܐܝܒܪ ܠܚܕܗ ܡܢ ܚܕ

serves the oldest, extant witness to this text,[96] or a (now lost) exegetical collection that would have been comparable to the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*.[97]

Bar Koni seems to have intended his *Scholion* to be used in the classroom setting[98] as a single volume in which is contained, among other things, "the doctrines of the fathers, whom we may take to have been the major thinkers whose works were utilized in the Nestorian tradition."[99] More specifically, he reveals that *Memre* I–IX were meant to be an introduction to Theodore of Mopsuestia's (350–428) biblical commentaries.[100] Given this fact, it is not surprising that Bar Koni quotes four fragments of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion in his *Memra* II, 139, because Theodore interpreted these two verses in a similar, typological manner.[101] While Bar Koni likely includes these fragments because he is interested in their explanation of parts of Gen 15:9–10, he does not simply reproduce them from the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. Rather, as is shown by the alternating sections of Aḥob and non-Aḥobian material above, he both summarizes and weaves these Aḥob fragments in and out of his own commentary on these same verses. Though he largely summarizes the content of these Aḥob fragments, on two occasions (in connection with the same frag-

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ܡܬܠܗ). For the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* text, see Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*–74, *19*.

96 Since the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* anonymizes this text, it is unclear if Bar Koni himself knew that it originated from Aḥob.

97 Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "Exegesis, Old Testament," 158 and Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405.

98 Sidney Harrison Griffith, "Theodore bar Kônî's *Scholion*: A Nestorian *Summa Contra Gentiles* from the First Abbasid Century," in Nina G. Garsoïan, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period. Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 66–68 and Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Question-and-Answer Collections in Syriac Literature," in Annelie Volgers and Claudio Zamagni (eds.), *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context. Proceedings of the Utrecht Colloquium, 13–14 October 2003* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 37; Louvain: Peeters, 2004), 156–158.

99 Griffith, "Theodore bar Kônî," 67.

100 Bar Koni states near the beginning of *Memra* X that he wrote his *Scholion*, among other reasons, for "those who have just begun to meditate on the reading of the Blessed Interpreter's explanations" (ܕܫܪܝܪܝ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܟܝ ܗܠ ܡܢ ܡܬܚܠ ܠܡܗܓܐ ܒܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 231, *19*–*20* and Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 172.

101 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.3. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis*.

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ment from v. 10) he retains the same phraseology found in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*: 1) "But that (phrase) they were *placed opposite* each other (makes known)" (ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܣܝܡ ܗܘ ܠܗܘ ܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܡܕܡ ܗܘ

Bar Koni (353, *14*–354, *8*)[104]	**Aḥob** (*80–131* **and** *135–138* **and** *145–154*)[105]
"Why, of all the holy books, was David transmitted to be recited and sung in the Church? First, because he is the fullness and the sum of all the prophets after him and that what these partially expressed, he had said in advance globally; second, because in him is defined and gathered the wealth of all the spiritual goods, and he shows as by an image of a king. For in him the knowledge of the two ages is depicted and he teaches how to endure before natural passions and against wars coming from outside. In him is encouragement for the afflicted ones, reproach for the evil ones, and incentive for the weak ones. And because the holy Fathers saw that the whole purpose of virtue is collected and concealed within his verses, they committed to recite and to sing it more than all the rest within the Churches. His songs are	"While all the divine books (are) the image and mirror of divine knowledge, this (one is) more accurate than all (the others). And like an image or statue of a king, which because of the great beauty of the colors and complexion of the material by which it is adorned, it is able, this (one), more than all other images and statues, to show to onlookers the true likeness of the king, so (also) the likenesses which are in this (book) are (more) accurate and the colors, by which the image of the divine knowledge is composed, (are) both (more) beautiful and (more) admirable. And it is like a guide for the blind, and (it is) like a lamp for (the one in) darkness for drawing near to God. While, as in an image, it depicts (and) shows us the power and grace (of God), along with the justice and patience of God, and it brings us, as it were, little by little to knowledge of him and towards his (divine) activity. And it promises us advantages, which (come) from his service, and it clothes us with its holy words as with tried pieces of armor. And through them it gives us confidence to triumph (in) all wars. For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) also draw Christ himself, the redeemer

104 The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 353, *14*–354, *8*, and the English translation of the Syriac is based on Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 294–295. The Urmiah recension adds a sentence near the end of this section, the content of which is not found in Aḥob: "U + Because the blessed Apostles had remarked that it was indeed him (David) the ancestor of Christ, they had established that it (the Psalter) would be used in the Church." See Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 295, n. 17. The Syriac text is not given in Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension d'Urmiah*) (text), though it is hinted at on page 121, *11–12*. My English translation is based on Hespel and Draguet's French translation.

105 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

Bar Koni	Aḥob
also pleasing and alluring, because he composed them in meters, according to the methods of singing. For this is not hidden how, by the recitation of the holy words, they drive away all the rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. That is to say, (they) also (invite) Christ our Lord" (ܟܕ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܕܫܪܪ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܢܓ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕܫܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܫܪ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܗ ܒܟ̈ܠ ܙܒ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܠ ܡ

(*cont.*)

Bar Koni	**Aḥob**
	ܕܫܪܪ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܫܘܝܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܟܠ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܥܠܡ ܒܗ

Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 introduces his readers to the importance of the Psalms. Bar Koni wished to establish the Psalms as the biblical book *par excellence* in comparison with all other biblical books, and he viewed Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* as an accessible source to aid in his explanation of this theological position.[106] There are likely two reasons why he only presents selected parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in a rearranged and reformatted manner: 1) his genre of choice is not prose, which Aḥob used, but that of questions and answers,[107] and 2) he is only interested in select aspects of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. Since Bar Koni likely intended that his *Scholion* be a one-volume compendium of the great thinkers whose writings were used by East Syriac writers[108]—most important of which were Theodore of Mopsuestia's works—he summarizes select parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in his *Memra* V, 17), because he arguably views Aḥob as both a significant thinker and an authoritative writer, whose *Cause of the Psalms* is perceived to be the paramount introduction to the Peshitta Psalter.[109]

Van den Eynde suggested that, along with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 may be relying on Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1.[110] Bar Koni was clearly aware of at least one of Basil's translated works, because he relies on Basil's *Hexaemeron* in a number of places in his *Memra* I.[111] Furthermore, a comparison between Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 and Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1[112] reveals a number of shared themes:

106 Cf. Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1.

107 Bar Koni's *Memre* I–IX are presented in the form of questions and answers. *Memra* X and XI are presented in a different format, due to the nature of their content. See Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405–406.

108 Griffith, "Theodore bar Kônî," 67.

109 *Memra* V, 18 also introduces various aspects of the Psalms. However, this section appears to be Bar Koni's own summary of a traditional Antiochene approach to interpreting the Psalms, which he likely bases on a close reading of the biblical text.

110 Van den Eynde also suggested that Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms* may be a source for Bar Koni in his *Memra* V, 17. However, there does not appear to be any words or phrases that Bar Koni takes from Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* for his *Memra* V, 17, which suggests he was either unaware of this treatise or chose not to use it. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1 and Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

111 Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 284.

112 For a further discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

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Bar Koni (353, *14*–354, *8*)[113]	**Basil** (141r, col. 1, *21*–141v, col. 1, *31* and col. 2, *6*–*19* and 142r, col. 2, *23*–*29*)[114]
"Why, of all the holy books, was David transmitted to be recited and sung in the Church? First, because he is the fullness and the sum of all the prophets after him and that what these partially expressed, he had said in advance globally; second, because in him is defined and gathered the wealth of all the spiritual goods, and he shows as by an image of a king. For in him the knowledge of the two ages is depicted and he teaches how to endure before natural passions and against wars coming from outside. In him is encouragement for the afflicted ones, reproach for the evil ones, and incentive for the weak ones. And because the holy Fathers saw that the whole purpose of virtue is collected and concealed within his verses, they committed to recite and to sing it more than all the rest within the Churches. His songs are also pleasing and alluring, because he composed them in	"Now, the instruction which we learn from the prophets is one thing, and the improving stories (which we learn) from the book of Judges and the book(s) of Kings are different in form, and the admonition from the (books of) Law is (of) another order, and the Proverbs and allegories that (derive) from the wisdom of Solomon are a different form. And although the fear of God is inscribed in all of them, in all (their) different-forms, yet their narrative-styles differ from one another. But in the book of the holy Psalms (that which is) beneficial is gathered together from all the Scriptures, and the discernment of all of them is inscribed in it. For it prophesies about future (events) and it also retells those things which have happened. And within it is justly recreated and found the import of the Law, and within it are rightly stored up the events of ancient (times). And in short, it is a storehouse of the doctrine of good things, for benefits are found from it for the one who is careful to apply them to his pains through his searching (of it). For through it also are cured those in whom the ulcers of sins have grown old, and by it are healed those in whom the wounds of failings are new, and those who are unharmed in their righteousness are preserved by its admonitions. And, in short, (this book) is a purifier of wicked passions, however much they might defile the souls of those who possess them. And through (the psalms) a person is able

113 The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 353, *14*–354, *8*, and the English translation is taken from the Bar Koni translation presented in the first table of this subsection.

114 The text, folios, and column numbers are taken from ms. British Library, Add. 14,543 (6th century), ff. 141r, col. 1, *1*–144r, col. 1, *8*, and the English translation is taken from an unpublished translation of this text, which was produced by Seth M. Stadel and David G. K. Taylor. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text. For a discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

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(*cont.*)

Bar Koni	Basil
meters, according to the methods of singing. For this is not hidden how, by the recitation of the holy words, they drive away all the rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. That is to say, (they) also (invite) Christ our Lord" (ܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܟܬܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ

(*cont.*)

Bar Koni	Basil
	ܕܡܫܒܚܢܝܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܙܡܝܪ ܡܠܝܗ ܕܫܝ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܟܠܗ ,ܡܥܝܡܪ ܡܝܠܦ̈ܐ ܕܒܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܠܗ.ܐܠܗ ܡܫܬ ܕܡ ܫܒܚܬܐ [.]ܕܡܫܬ ܟܬܒ. ܕܟܬܒܗ ܕܐܟ ܐܠܐ ܕܟܬ ܠܟ ⁘ܐܒܐ ܐܒܝ ܕܫܘ ܠܐ ܕܒ ܐܒܐ ܕܒܐ ܕܡܬܠ ܕܐ ܕܟ ,ܕܟܬ ܕܒ ܕܟ ,ܡ ܕܒܐ ܐܠܗ ܕܟ.ܕܒܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܟ ,ܕܒ ܕܒ ܕܒ.ܕܒ ܐܒܐ ܕܒ ,ܕܒ ܕܒ ,ܕ ,ܕ ,ܕ

arguably relies on Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1.[115] This is evidenced both by Bar Koni's large number of borrowed themes from Aḥob (compared to Basil) and his similar choice in nouns, which shares more of a parallel with Aḥob than with Basil.[116]

3.4 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*

In the following examination of Aḥob's exegetical works in the *DGC*,[117] each subsection will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) the *DGC's* commentary[118] on the same verse(s), to which each Aḥob scholion is attached; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion[119] within (V)LMS(C), b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, c) a proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion;[120] 4) the possible reason(s) why and/or the manner by which each Aḥob scholion is utilized in (V)LMS(C) in (a) particular verses(s). The exception to this format will be Subsection 3.4.1., in which Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is discussed.

115 It is also possible that Bar Koni draws on lost or unknown Introductions to the Psalms. For a further discussion of Aḥob's use of Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

116 For instance, Bar Koni shares identical nouns with Aḥob, such as "knowledge" (ܡܕܥܬܐ) and "meters" (ܡܫܩܠܬܐ), as well as synonym nouns, such as "image" (Bar Koni: ܕܡܘܬܐ; Aḥob: ܨܠܡܐ and ܡܕܡܝܘܬܐ). He also shares select phrases with Aḥob, such as "rebellious demons" (ܥܡ̈ܪܐ ܕܥܪܒ̈ܐ) and "holy angels" (ܩܕ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ), though Aḥob includes a seyame on ܥܡ̈ܪܐ; Basil refers to them simply as "demons" (ܥܡ̈ܪܐ) and "angels" (ܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ).

117 Following on discussions of the *DGC* manuscripts presented in Chapter 2, the following sigla will be used in this section for their equivalent edition/manuscripts: P = ms. Paris, BnF Syr. 367 (*olim* Seert 29); P^2 = ms. Paris, BnF Syr. 351; V = the Vandenhoff Exemplar; L = ms. British Library, Or. 9354; M = ms. Mingana Syr. 58; S = ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121; C = ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318.

118 For the edited text of each translated *DGC* verse (along with all rubricated words and phrases), see Appendix. For a brief discussion of the possible origin and meaning of the *DGC's* rubricated words and phrases, see Leonhard, "Ps 119 and 139–147 in East-Syrian Commentaries," 182–184.

119 With one exception, the name "Aḥob Qaṭraya" and/or "Aḥob" is always written in red ink in the *DGC* manuscript tradition.

120 In the discussion of several *DGC* Aḥob scholia, the likely intended meaning is stated as part of the discussion of the scholion itself.

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3.4.1 Cause of the Psalms[121]

Aḥob's only surviving complete work is his *Cause of the Psalms*,[122] which is a literary text introducing the book of Psalms. The fullest version of this work is found prefixed in its apparent entirety, without any scribal comments, to the *DGC*, where it is the first of 8 documents[123] given to introduce the Psalms and its importance. Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is placed as the first of these 8 documents in VLMSC, likely because it is viewed as the paramount Psalms introduction. Aḥob attributes the authorship of each Psalm to David, which is emphatically stated in his opening words: "The *Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord*" (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܠܠܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܕܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܘܠܒܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ),[124] as well as several times later in the work in the form of metonymy.[125] If a specific recipient was intended, the name is now unknown; Aḥob simply addresses the treatise to "O, my lord the diligent reader" (ܐܝ ܡܪܝ ܣܦܪܐ ܙܗܝܪܐ), which is a general title of respect likely intended for any potential reader.

In his *Cause of the Psalms*, Aḥob insists that the Psalms summarize the whole Old Testament, though not the New Testament. He uses the phrase "the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) only in reference to the Old Testament, because he perceives the Psalms as dividing the Old Testament into four kinds (ܐܢܘܢ ... ܟܬܒܐ) of categories: "prophecy ... and history ... and law writing ... wisdom" (ܢܒܝܐ ... ܘܣܦܪ ܕܕܘܪܢ ... ܘܚܟܡܬ), all of which comprise the totality of the Old Testament. Furthermore, other Old

121 Vandenhoff offered the first (extremely brief) overview of this text in Latin. Subsequently, Ter Haar Romeny produced two overviews of this text in English, both of which were based on the Vandenhoff Exemplar (i.e. V) alone. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5–6 (Latin); Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 149; idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 89–90. Having edited all known, complete versions of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6.), my overview aims to be a more comprehensive discussion of this text.

122 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is too lengthy to reproduce here. For the Syriac text and translation of this work, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

123 See Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.5. Works.

124 While it is likely that this lengthy phrase from the title of the *Cause of the Psalms* is the work of a later scribe, it is also likely that Aḥob would have included a title (now lost), which would have credited David as the sole author of all the psalms.

125 Examples of this include the following: "And know that in David there are all good (things)" (ܘܬܕܥ ܕܒܗ ܒܕܘܝܕ ܟܠ ܛܒ[ܬ]), "and there is in him ..." (ܘܐܝܬ ܒܗ), "There is in him ..." (ܐܝܬ ܒܗ), and "that we should chant from him ..." (ܕܢܙܡܪ ܒܗ). See Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *178–179*, *180*, *187*, *191*. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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Testament "books teach partially and particularly, but this (one) [i.e. the Psalms] proclaims completely" (ܗܘ ܕ.ܟܠܡ ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܒܦܪܫ̈ܐ ܘܒܦܪܛ̈ܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܡܟܪܙ). The Psalms can function in such a capacity, because "it suffices to be in the approximate rank of the head (in relation) to the body of the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܦܝ ܠܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܬܪ̈ܥ ܕܪ̈ܫܐ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܬܪ̈ܥ ܕܪ̈ܫܐ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܐܝܟ). Similar comparisons are made with a human head to the human body and with the fruits of Paradise to other fruits found elsewhere. In short, while varying aspects of prophecy, history, law writing, and wisdom "are found scattered in all the Scriptures ... this book of Psalms ... is composed, as it were, of some members and parts from all these" (ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܫܬܟܚ̈ܝ ... ܗܢ ... ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ... ܗܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܐܠܝܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܫܬܟܚ̈ܝ ... ܗܢ ... ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ

fast insistence on chanting the Psalms.[126] He maintains that, whereas the secular songs are unfulfilling—beyond the momentary pleasure of their sounds, the melodies of the Psalms never cease to fulfill, and the ones who sing their words "sing the same (words) as though they had never (before) been spoken" (ܟܡܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ ... ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܪ). Among the many reasons why the Psalms should be chanted, Aḥob states that it prophesies about the life and ministry of Christ. However, this is only meant to be a part of the Psalms and not their sole purpose. Aḥob concludes his *Cause of the Psalms* with a praise to God for making it possible, via "the observance of the commandments" (ܛܝܪܬܐ ܕܦܩܘܕܐ), to be able to receive the many gifts "of his treasures" (ܡܢ ܓܢܙܘܗܝ) and to obtain mercy, as "the prophet, David, found mercy" (ܕܘܝܕ ܢܒܝܐ ܫܟܚ).

3.4.2 *Psalm 5:4*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 5:4 states:

ܐܝܟ ܕܒܨܦܪ ܫܡܥ ܩܠܝ ܡܪܝ.	Lord, in the morning you will hear my voice,
ܘܒܨܦܪ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ	and in the morning I will prepare myself
ܘܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ.	and I will be seen by you.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[127]

> *Lord, in the morning* (ܨܦܪ) *you will hear my voice* and you will clearly show me your salvation, *and in* another *morning I will prepare myself* with vows and offerings *and I will show myself to you* in Jerusalem.[128]

This Aḥob scholion[129] is the first one preserved in the texts of LMSC, which is made apparent by its full attribution of "Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܐܚܘܗܝ ܩܛܪܝܐ).[130] While it is not marked with any reference marker (either in the scholion or in

126 For a further discussion of Syriac secular songs, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.8. Miscellaneous References.

127 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 5:4.

128 This translation is my own.

129 Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion states, "For the (word meaning) *morning* is understood in three (ways) in the Scriptures. That is to say, either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this *morning*. But, (on) this (occasion), he speaks about swiftness." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

130 All subsequent Aḥob scholia in the *DGC* shorten this attribution to "Aḥob" (ܐܚܘܗܝ).

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the texts of LMSC), this marginal scholion[131] is visually connected to Ps 5:4, in that it seeks to unpack the multifaceted meanings of the masculine singular noun, "morning" (ܨܦܪ).[132] Aḥob suggests that the Scriptures (ܟܬܒܐ) present three possible meanings for morning: "splendor" (ܨܦܪ ܕܫܘܦܪܐ), "this morning" (ܨܦܪ ܗܢܐ), and "swiftness" (ܨܦܪ ܕܣܠܝܠܘ). He suggests the first two meanings in an either-or arrangement: "[it is used] either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this morning" (ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܨܦܪܐ). While the meaning of "this morning" for ܨܦܪ is arguably self-evident, Aḥob's usage of "splendor" is less clear, though he may be implying the beauty of an early morning (i.e. the sunrise, various species of wildlife awakening, etc.). However, without an addendum explanation, he immediately dismisses both of these options and settles on the third meaning, namely "swiftness," as the most appropriate way to describe ܨܦܪ in this verse. Aḥob's insistence that "swiftness" should be regarded as the primary meaning of ܨܦܪ in Ps 5:4 arguably introduces a subtle shift in the focus of the verse: whereas the Peshitta translators follow the MT בֹּקֶר and likely intend for ܨܦܪ to be understood in a straightforward manner, i.e. as the initial part of a day, Aḥob rejects this approach and instead concentrates on the manner by which ܨܦܪ comes. In other words, Aḥob focuses on the speed of ܨܦܪ, namely that it arrives with "swiftness."[133] In this way, Aḥob suggests that it is not a particular time of the day that the Psalmist should speak or present himself before God. Rather, when he speaks and presents himself before God, he will be quickly noticed by God, i.e. with "swiftness."

The inclusion of Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion in the margins of LMSC highlights the varying nuances of ܨܦܪ and offers an alternative way through which to understand this masculine singular noun. The implied result is that this Aḥob scholion likely functions as a corrective to the perceived difficult[134] ܨܦܪ and to the broader understanding of Ps 5:4 in the *DGC* manuscript tradition as well.

131 In LMSC, this Aḥob scholion is written as a marginal gloss in the *DGC*.

132 There are no recorded variants for ܨܦܪ in the Peshitta, or its related words, בֹּקֶר and πρωὶ, in the MT and LXX, respectively.

133 It is unclear if Aḥob is using other similar passages from the Psalms to arrive at his conclusion concerning the use of ܨܦܪ in Ps 5:4. Other examples, where "morning" could be understood in a parallel way as "swiftness" in the Psalms, are the following: Ps 30:6; 49:15; 90:5–6.

134 It remains unclear why ܨܦܪ was viewed as a difficult word. For instance, was it the repetition of this word in Ps 5:4? Was it the implication that God might not hear and see something? Was it a concern about how one should prepare for being seen by God? Unfortunately, the texts of LMSC do not provide further commentary on this verse that would answer these questions.

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3.4.3 *Psalm 29:9*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 29:9 states:

ܩܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܬܒܪ	The voice of the Lord that shakes
ܐܝܠܐ ܘܡܩܛܦ ܝܥܪܬܐ.	the hinds and uproots the forests.
ܘܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܫܒܚܐ.	And everyone in his temple says, "Glory!"

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[135]

> *The voice of the Lord shakes the hinds* (ܐܝܠܐ) by means of a hidden plague, (by) which they were struck by an angel, *and it uproots the forests*, into which they fled that they should become messengers in the world. He calls "*hinds*" the weak men who (are) in the camp of the Assyrians, because like *hinds* he made them suddenly flee. And (he calls them) "*forests*," because of their multitude. Alternatively, the *'ylt'* are being called trees which (are) young in their plantings, and he calls "*forests*" thick and diverse trees. *And everyone in his temple says*, "*Glory!*," (on account of) his victory, which they gained over the Assyrians.[136]

Aḥob's scholion[137] is visually connected to the first phrase of Ps 29:9, specifically the word "hinds" (ܐܝܠܐ).[138] This scholion is either fragmented at its beginning or referencing back to another, now lost, scholion (possibly on an earlier verse in Ps 29) as is noted by the postpositive adverb "on the other hand"

135 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 29:9. The biblical setting of this verse is established by the Ps 29 heading in the *DGC*, which states, "Spoken by David in the persona (of) Hezekiah, as it was proper for him, after the death of the Assyrians, to summon the people to bring sacrifices to God for its deliverance." For the Syriac text of this psalm heading, see Appendix, Psalm 29.

136 This translation is my own.

137 Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion states, "On the other hand, (do) we read *'ylt'* either (in the sense of) trees, which (are) young in their plantings, like that in which *Absalom was hung*, or (in the sense of) hinds *and* ibexes, which dwell in the forests?" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

138 In the text of the *DGC*, ܐܝܠܐ is marked in L with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word, while in MSC it is marked with a red dot above it. The equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion, which is written as a marginal gloss in LMSC, is not marked.

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(ܐܦ̈ܗ).[139] Aḥob may have been looking at an unvowelled text and, thus, highlights the ambiguity of ܐܝܠܬܐ by suggesting one of two translational options in the form of a question: 1) "trees" (i.e. *ʾilātā*) "which (are) young in their plantings" (ܐܝܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܡ ܒܢܝ ܚܕ̈ܬ) or 2) "hinds" (i.e. *ʾaylātā*; ܐܝܠܬܐ), namely, female deer. He describes the first option as something akin to the type of tree in which Absalom became hung.[140] Along with the second option he attaches the (female) animal species, "ibexes" (ܐܝܬܝܠ),[141] which he perceives as dwelling in the "forests" (ܚܪ̈ܫ). Based on Prov 5:19,[142] it is likely that Aḥob understood ibexes to be a synonym of hinds, which would explain why he singles them out (as opposed to some other related animal species) for mentioning at this point in his scholion. Broadly speaking, Aḥob is trying to understand whether God is shaking *ʾilātā* or whether he is shaking *ʾaylātā*, the latter of which would only make sense if the *ʾaylātā* live in the forests. While he recognizes the ambiguity concerning ܐܝܠܬܐ in Ps 29:9 and seeks to clarify possible misconceptions that would arise from inadvertently misunderstanding the word's meaning in context,[143] Aḥob does not decide on any particular translational option.[144]

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139 Due to the manner in which this Aḥob scholion is preserved, it is unclear whether ܐܦ̈ܗ should be translated as "on the other hand" (suggesting fragmentation at the beginning) or "again" (suggesting a reference to another, now lost, scholion). The first translational option of "on the other hand" has been chosen. For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

140 Cf. 2 Sam 18:9. The word to which Aḥob is referencing in 2 Sam 18:9 is ܐܝܠܬܐ.

141 The only place where ܐܝܠܬܐ and ܐܝܬܝܠ are paired together (both in the singular form) in the Old Testament is Prov 5:19, the context of which is an imperative for a young man to love the wife of his youth and to not be ensnared by an adulteress.

142 Prov 5:19 states, "A lovely hind and a lovely ibex. Learn (from) her ways always, and feed on her love" (ܫܒܝܠܝܗ.ܕܚ ܚܒܒ ܠܟ ܫܒܝܬܐ.ܐܝܠܬܐ ܚܝܪ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܝܠ ܐܝܠܬܐ ܚܒ̈ܐ).

143 The Peshitta preserves a few variant readings of ܐܝܠܬܐ: Peshitta 8t1 omits the seyame from ܐܝܠܬܐ and 12t5 renders ܐܝܠܬܐ as ܐܝܠܠܐ, which is arguably an inner Syriac scribal error. The MT אַיֶּלֻת and the LXX ἐλάφους also contain variant spellings of this word. The MT reads: prp אַיֶּלֻת = אַיָּלִים, and the LXX reads: ελαφους *ceruos* GaHiAug] *cedros* La: ex 5. It is unclear if Aḥob was aware of any of these variants.

144 While it is unclear if this scholion is fragmented at its beginning (i.e. Aḥob's use of ܐܦ̈ܗ), it should also be noted that it is possible that this scholion is fragmented at its end, which would explain why Aḥob does not settle on any particular translational option. It is also possible that he intentionally did not want to argue for any particular option but only wanted to highlight the translational difficulties connected to ܐܝܠܬܐ in Ps 29:9. The lack of context surrounding this Aḥob scholion makes it difficult to speculate any further on this particular point.

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Confusion surrounding the spelling and, thus, the meaning of ܐܝܠܢ is also present in the texts of LMSC.[145] As a result, they compare ܐܝܠܢ to both weak men in the Assyrian camp and young trees in the same verse. Based on the vowel pointing, this feminine plural noun is rendered as "hinds" (ܐܝܠܬ̈ܐ) in LMC,[146] though they do not explain how "hinds" are comparable to young trees.[147] S does not include vowels with its usages of ܐܝܠܢ in this verse, possibly because its scribe, Augustinus, forgot to include them or because his exemplar did not present this noun with vowels. Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC to clarify that there are two possible readings of the consonantal text of ܐܝܠܢ.

3.4.4 *Psalm 31:6*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 31:6 states:

ܘܐܢܐ ܫܒܩܬ ܠܟ.	And I have caused my spirit to be guarded by you.
ܐܦܕܝܬܢܝ ܝܗ̇ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܘܪܪ.	And you redeemed me, Lord
	God of truth.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[148]

> *And I have caused* (*it*) *to be guarded* (ܫܒܩܬ)[149] *by you* (ܠܟ), this is to say, I caused *my spirit* to be patient (ܪܘܚܝ ܫܒܩܬ), so that you might redeem it (ܐܦܕܝܬܗ), even today, as you are willing. *And you redeemed me, Lord*

145 It is worth noting that the earliest, extant Syriac *Masora* manuscript (which is written in East Syriac) vowel points this pluralized noun as ܐܝܠܬ̈ܐ, i.e. *ʾaylātā*. Later West Syriac *Masora* manuscripts inconsistently present this pluralized noun as both ܐܝܠ̈ܐ, i.e. *ʾīlātā*, and ܐܝܠܬ̈ܝ, i.e. *ʾaylātā*. See Jonathan Loopstra, *An East Syrian Manuscript of the Syriac 'Masora' Dated to 899 CE: A Facsimile Reproduction of British Library, Add. MS 12138* (vol. 1; Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2014), ix, 255, *3*; ms. Damascus Syr. 7/16 (1004), f. 57r, col. 2, *19*; ms. Mosul 41 (1014), f. 51v, col. 2, *5* and related marginal note.

146 P, f. 75v, *11–20* seems to suggest that the meaning should be "hinds" (ܐܝܠܬ̈ܐ). This psalm is not preserved in P^2.

147 It is possible that, due to their similar spellings, an error crept into an early (now lost) *DGC* exemplar, and LMSC simply preserve these variations. In this verse the Peshitta makes no comparison between hinds and young trees; in fact, young trees are not even mentioned in this Peshitta verse! It is also possible that the vowels of the two nouns are being mixed together in LMSC, thus inadvertently creating more confusion in an already confusing verse.

148 For the Syriac text of v. 6, see Appendix, Psalm 31:6.

149 Namely, my spirit.

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> *God*, the maker *of truth* and righteousness. Therefore, he[150] prophesied about a deliverance from captivity, and he[151] says.[152]

Aḥob's scholion[153] is visually connected to the aph'el perfect verb "I have caused (it) to be guarded" (ܐܚܝܪܬ).[154] In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand why the aph'el perfect form of ܐܚܝܪܬ, rather than the p'al perfect form of ܢܛܪܬ, is used in Ps 31:6. Along with this, he strives to clarify the meaning of ܐܚܝܪܬ, and, to this end, Aḥob makes two brief comments:[155] first, he offers a parallel definition: "I have guarded" (ܢܛܪܬ), and, second, he compares ܐܚܝܪܬ to 2 Kgs 5:24: "Gehazi *took* (*the silver*) *and caused* (*it*) *to be guarded in the house*" (ܐܚܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܓܚܙܝ ܘܣܒ). Aḥob assumes his readers will understand the context of his reference to 2 Kgs 5:24. Furthermore, he likely does not intend, here, to emphasize Gehazi's wrongdoing, which was deceiving Naaman into giving him a large amount of silver and some clothing for personal gain.[156] Rather, Aḥob overlooks these details and, instead, focuses on two corresponding points between Ps 31:6 and 2 Kgs 5:24: 1) both use the aph'el perfect form of ܢܛܪ and 2) the causative usage of ܢܛܪ in Ps 31:6 does not mean that someone else is doing the guarding; rather, Aḥob suggests that, like the p'al perfect form, it just means that David himself is guarding his own spirit, just like Gehazi guarded the silver in the house in 2 Kgs 5:24.

The texts of LMSC also seek to clarify the meaning of ܐܚܝܪܬ, in conjunction with ܠܝ. However, two separate interpretations are offered: S (following P)[157] states, "*I have caused* (*it*) *to be guarded by you*" (ܐܚܝܪ̈ܬ ܠܝ); LMC (follow-

150 Namely, David.

151 Namely, David.

152 This translation is my own. The *DGC* continues with an immediate quotation from v. 7.

153 Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion states, "*I have caused* (*my spirit*) *to be guarded*, that is to say, I have guarded. *I have caused* (*my spirit*) *to be guarded* is like that (verse), Gehazi *took* (*the silver*) *and caused* (*it*) *to be guarded in the house*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

154 In the text of the *DGC*, this word is marked in LMSC with a red dot above it. The equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion, which is written as a marginal gloss in LMSC, is not marked.

155 Though the Peshitta and the MT do not preserve any variants connected to ܐܚܝܪܬ and אַפְקִיד, respectively, the LXX παραθήσομαι does, which reads: παραθησομαι] παρατιθημι L^{pau}, *commendo* La Uulg(sed Ga -*dabo*): ex Luc. 2346, ubi mss. παρατιθεμαι uel -τιθημι et *commendo* praebent; + *domine* La^{G}. However, it is unclear if Aḥob would have been aware of, or influenced by, these LXX variants.

156 See 2 Kgs 5:1–23.

157 P, f. 77r, *22* presents the Peshitta ܐܚܝܪܬ as an aph'el 1cs verb: ܐܚܝܪ̈ܬ.

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ing the later East Syriac interpretation) state, "(*My spirit*) *has caused to guard you*" (ܛܝܪܪ ܠܟ). They unpack the Peshitta phrase ܛܝܪܪ ܠܟ by offering two further interpretations: S states, "I caused *my spirit* to be patient, so that you might redeem it" (ܫܪܝܟܬܗ ܕܪܘܚܝ ܛܝܪܪ); LMC state, "*My spirit* (was) caused to be patient, so that you might redeem it" (ܫܪܝܟܬܗ ܕܪܘܚܝ ܛܝܪܪ). The place from which David is seeking to be redeemed is, according to the texts of LMSC on the preceding verse—namely v. 5,[158] Babylonian captivity. Since the *DGC* manuscript tradition presents differing translations of the Peshitta phrase ܠܟ ܛܝܪܪ,[159] Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC as an alternative explanation for ܛܝܪܪ.

3.4.5 *Psalm 39:2*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 39:2 states:

ܐܡܪܬ ܐܢ ܢܛܪܐ ܠܐܪܚܝ ܛܝܪܪ	I said, "I will guard my way and not sin
ܒܠܫܢܝ. ܣܟܘܬܐ ܠܦܘܡܝ	with my tongue. I will guard my mouth
ܒܙܒܢ ܕܩܡ ܚܛܝܐ	from wickedness, on account of
ܕܪܫܝܥܐ ܩܕܡܝ.	the wicked ones who (are) against me."

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[160]

> *I said, "I will guard my way,"* (ܐܪܚܝ) that is to say, my way of life, (ܚܝܐ), "*and not sin with my tongue*." And he said words that (are) a stumbling block, for the ones who (are) wicked flourish, and the righteous are delivered into their hands. *"I will guard my mouth from wickedness"*—and he (has) not said something impious—"*on account of the wicked* (*ones*) of the house of Saul, *who* (*are*) *against me*, are standing."[161]

158 The *DGC* on Ps 31:5 states, "*And carry me out of this net*, which (is) captivity, *which* the Babylonians *hid for me, because you are my helper*" (: ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܡܢ ܫܘܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ). See P, f. 77r, *20–22*.

159 While there are no recorded variants for ܛܝܪܪ in the Peshitta, it is unclear if (like Aḥob) the scribes of LMSC were aware of, or influenced by, the variants connected to παραθήσομαι in the LXX.

160 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 39:2.

161 This translation is my own.

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While Aḥob's Psalm 39:2[162] scholion[163] is visually connected to the first part of LMSC's insights on the same verse,[164] Aḥob is arguably clarifying the nature of the entire verse by elaborating on the unexplained meaning of "my way" (ܐܘܪܚܝ) in the Peshitta.[165] He suggests that ܐܘܪܚܝ should be understood as "my thoughts" (ܣܥܝܦܬܐ). This is interesting, given the fact that in the rest of the verse David wishes to guard himself from sinning with his tongue or his mouth. This would imply not sinning through words. How has Aḥob come to such an, otherwise, unusual conclusion at this point?

The answer to this question arguably lies in an examination of ܐܘܪܚܝ in the rest of the Peshitta Old Testament. While the feminine singular noun "way" (ܐܘܪܚܐ) is a very common word in the Peshitta Old Testament, its feminine singular construct form, with a common first singular ending, only occurs ten times.[166] For eight of these occurrences, the meaning refers to a physical path, a righteous life, and/or the manner by which Abraham's servant would chose a wife for Isaac. The two remaining verses in question are Ps 39:2; 139:3. Ps 139:3 states, "You know my way and my paths, and you investigate all my ways" (ܐܢܬ ܝܕܥ ܐܘܪܚܝ ܘܫܒܝܠܝ ܘܟܠ ܕܪܟܝ ܐܬ ܒܨܝܬ). This verse, in itself, does not lend any further insight into understanding the use of ܐܘܪܚܝ in Ps 39:2, because both (in their respective verses only) use ܐܘܪܚܝ somewhat enigmatically. A clue may lie in Ps 139:2, which states, "You know my sitting down and my rising up; you understand my thoughts from heaven" (ܐܢܬ ܝܕܥ ܬܘܒܬܝ ܘܩܝܡܬܝ ܐܬܒܝܢ ܠܪܥܝܢܝ ܡܢ ܪܚܝܩ). While it is unclear which form of the Peshitta Psalms text Aḥob was using, it is possible that Aḥob viewed Ps 139:2b and Ps 139:3a as a couplet and thus an explanation of each

162 It is worth noting that there is a thematic link between Ps 31:6; 39:2 with the use of ܒܛܠ in both verses. However, it is unclear if this influenced Aḥob's interest in commenting on these two verses.

163 Aḥob's Psalm 39:2 scholion states, "He says, 'My thoughts.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

164 In the text of the *DGC*, ܕܐܚܬ is marked in LMC with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word; S marks it with a red "x" above it. C connects this verse with Aḥob's scholion by placing a similar marking over his name in the margin; S connects this verse with Aḥob's scholion (which is written on the facing, blank page of its manuscript) by placing a red "x" above Aḥob's name. LM do not place an equivalent mark on any part of Aḥob's scholion. This Aḥob scholion is written as a marginal gloss in LMSC.

165 The MT reads "my ways" (דְּרָכַי), and the LXX reads "my ways" (τὰς ὁδούς μου). Also, it should be noted that there are no recorded textual variants for these words. The Peshitta ܐܘܪܚܝ, however, has a few variants. Peshitta 10t3 has (*vid*) seyame (i.e. plural like the MT and LXX). 9t2 10t1 11t1 have "my spirit" (ܪܘܚܝ), which is clearly an inner Syriac change. While this is interesting to consider, it is arguably not the cause of Aḥob's reading of the text.

166 Gen 24:42, 56; 2 Sam 22:33; 2 Chr 7:19; 24:20; Job 23:10; Ps 18:33; 39:2; 139:3; Zech 3:7.

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other. If this is the case and he is applying this interpretation to Ps 39:2, he is likely doing so from memory, which would explain why he has replaced "my thoughts" (ܚܫܒܬܝ; as found in Ps 139:2) with the synonym ܥܩܬܐ.[167]

Aḥob is not alone in his desire to more fully understand ܐܘܪܚܐ in Ps 39:2. The text of P also seeks to clarify the meaning of ܐܘܪܚܐ and so adds the following explanatory statement directly after it: "that is to say, my way of life" (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܪܟܝ ܚܝܝ).[168] The same phrase is also preserved in the texts of LMSC. However, unlike the text of P, this Aḥob scholion is likely added to LMSC as a corrective for the otherwise difficult ܐܘܪܚܐ.

3.4.6 *Psalm 39:4–6*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 39:4–6 states:

[4] ܒܥܪ ܠܒܝ ܒܓܘ̈ܐ	[4] My heart became hot within me
ܘܒܥܝܪܬܐ ܬܬܩܕ ܒܦܓܪܝ.	and a fire seized my body.
ܐܡܪܬ ܒܠܫܢܝ	I thought with my tongue
[5] ܗܘܕܥܢܝ ܡܪܝ ܣܘܦܝ.	[5] and the Lord showed me my end
ܘܡܕܘܬ ܝܘܡܝ ܡܢܘ ܗܝ.	and what is the measure of my days,
ܐܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܝ ܚܕܠ ܐܢܐ.	that I might know why I remain.
[6] ܗܐ ܦܫܩܬ ܝܘܡܝ ܐܝܟ	[6] Behold! With a measure you have given
ܕܠܐ ܡܕܡ. ܘܩܝܡܬܝ ܐܦ ܗܝ ܟܠܝ ܩܕܡܟ	my days. And my lingering is like nothing
ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܗܒܠ ܩܐܡ. ܣܠܐ	before you, because all people
ܟܠ ܕܡܐ ܕܒܗܒܠ ܡܬܚܙܐ.	like vapor are rising.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[169]

> [4] *My heart became hot within me and a fire seized my body*, as long (as) I was considering these (things) which were happening. *I thought* (ܐܡܪܬ), that is to say, I spoke *with my tongue* (ܒܠܫܢܝ), and I prayed, [5] *and the Lord showed me my end* (ܗܘܕܥܢܝ ܡܪܝ ܣܘܦܝ), that I (will) not live forever. *And what is the measure of my days*, except as it were to meditate, *that I might*

167 It is also possible that Aḥob viewed ܐܘܪܚܐ as a metonym for ܥܩܬܐ. However, if this is the case, why does he not view other similar usages (such as that which is found in Ps 139:3) in the same way? If he does, why has the *DGC* manuscript tradition not preserved an Aḥob Psalm 139:3 scholion, whereby he states something akin to his Psalm 39:2 scholion?

168 P, f. 93r, *9*. This psalm is not preserved in P[2].

169 For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 39:4–6.

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know why I remain (ܕܐܬܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܫܝܪ), and how much time I have to live that I should be comforted from my evils. [6] *Behold! With a measure you have given my days* (ܗܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܝܗܒܬ ܝܘܡܝ), that (is), not as (one) for whom there is not an end to my life, (for) you fashioned me (and) how much will they[170] be stretched out. *And my lingering is like nothing before you* in comparison (with) your own life. He calls (it) "*lingering*" on account of the mutability of his life, *because all people like vapor are rising* and vanishing. He calls "*vapor*" the steam of a pot, that which arises from moisture or heat or steam which passes from the mouth in the time of intense cold.[171]

Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion[172] is the first of his scholia to be included within the texts of LMSC,[173] albeit in a smaller script and divided into two parts.[174]

170 Namely, my days.

171 This translation is my own.

172 Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion states, "[39:4] *I thought with my tongue*, [5] *and the Lord showed me my end*. That is to say, I brought to memory what is my life and the end that is kept for me, that I might stand and condemn that which exists *today but* tomorrow departs. Now, that (phrase), *the Lord showed me my end*, he says (to indicate) that the knowledge of our lives is fixed in (human) nature. *That I might know why I remain*, that is to say, not only is it not right for me to complain, as though about something which persists, but not even my remaining in this life is wanted by me, so that I should not see evils such as these. [6] *Behold! With a measure you have given my days*, (as though) he should say, 'You gave me limited life.' And not free and simple like the angels. For also thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being. Nor should we live without a limit. But according to the soundness and the equality of the mixture, according to the functioning of nature, life is stretched out or is cut short. For just as a house, if it is built well, then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also it remains. In this way also the bodies of people, according to their structure and the equality of their mixture, endure. In proportion to their feebleness (do) they perish. For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he fixed how much he should live, he would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life). And, again, if he was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies. That (passage), therefore, *Behold! With a measure you have given my days*: he does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change, since the measure (of life) of the first (humans) is not equal (in comparison) with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones). Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan. For just as by time and birth, together with a change

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In vv. 4–5, Aḥob is trying to understand how v. 4b and the beginning of v. 5a function together. The sections of these two verses in question are the following: "I thought with my tongue and the Lord showed me my end" (ܐܡܪ̈ܬ ܒܠܫܢܝ ܐܘܕܥ ܡܪܝ ܠܝ ܣܘܦܝ ܘܡܕܡ). [175] Aḥob clarifies these two adjoining verse sections by stating, "That is to say, I brought to memory what is my life and the end that is kept for me, that I might stand and condemn that which exists *today but* tomorrow departs" (ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܙܟܪ ܠܚܝܝ ܡܐ ܗܘ ܘܣܘܦܝ ܕܛܡܝܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܩܘܡ ܘܐܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܘܠܡܚܪ ܕܐܙܠ ܗܘ

(ܗܝ ܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ)—Aḥob draws out the meaning of this Peshitta phrase with his own insights: "that is to say, not only is it not right for me to complain, as though about something which persists, but not even my *remaining* in this life is wanted by me, so that I should not see evils such as these" (ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܀ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܠܝ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܚܝܐ ܕܝ ܐܦ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܗܢ ܒܚܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܪܥܐ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܒܥܝ ܗܢ ܕܐܬܚܙܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ). By attaching this explanatory phrase to v. 5c, Aḥob asserts that it is the knowledge of the brevity of life that gives one a proper, albeit somewhat pessimistic, perspective through which to understand (and not complain about) the persistent triumph of the wicked over the righteous, the basis of which is an allusion to Ps 39:2b, 4b.

Aḥob's most detailed insight into Ps 39 is on v. 6, specifically the phrase, "Behold! With a measure you have given my days" (ܗܐ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܝܗܒܬ ܝܡ̈ܝ ܠܝ). He opens this part of his scholion with a summarization of this Peshitta phrase, stating, "You gave me limited life" (ܠ ܗܐ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܝܗܒܬ). He then briefly qualifies his statement by contrasting it against the nature of angels, who are perceived as "free and simple" (ܚܫܝܫܐ ܘܦܫܝܛܐ) beings. The bulk of Aḥob's discussion focuses on the nature and quality of human life, which is emphasized as being both restricted and complex: it is restricted in that human life is finite; it is complex in that people (unlike angels) possess both a nature and a body, the latter of which is subject to death. Furthermore, human life is complex in that its composition varies from one person to another: "the bodies of people, according to their structure and the equality of their mixture, endure. In proportion to their feebleness (do) they perish" (ܒܗܕ ܠܗ. ܒܪܝܡ ܒܢܝܢ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܒܗܕ ܠܗ. ܒܪܝܡ ܒܡܫܘܚ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܒܗܕ ܠܗ). Aḥob is concerned that God will be viewed as unjust if he is responsible for setting specific limits on each person's life, because every person does not live an equal length of years: "For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he fixed how much he should live, he would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life)" (ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܒܡܫܘܚ ܘܩܒܥ ܠܗ ܟܡ ܢܚܐ ܠܡܐ ܗܘ ܀ ܠܐ ܐܬܪ ܠܚܕ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܪ ܠܚܕ). Similarly, Aḥob believes God would be unjust if he set the same length of life for all people, because sickness and pain would not be experienced, and, as a result, people would have no need to suffer for Christ in their bodies: "And, again, if he was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies" (ܒܗܕ ܐܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܫ̈ܝ ܚܠܝ ܕܢܗܘ ܠܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܫ̈ܝ ܚܠܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܗܘ ܠܢ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܕܢܗܘ ܠܢ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܣܒܠ ܒܦܓܪ̈ܢ).

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be reduced. Humanity would, consequently, become exalted in its perception of itself and so fall into sin. Thus, Aḥob is keen to show that the lifespan of humans has changed since the earliest figures of the Bible, because there is no general span of life for humans. In the end, Aḥob maintains that it is "the providence of God" (ܥܡܠܥ ܫܘܒܚܐ) which justly establishes all things, even if human knowledge does not fully understand it. With regard to comparing one's length of life against another's, humanity is simply meant to know, as is stated in Ps 39:6a, that their days are given by God for a limited time.

Concerning Ps 39:4–5, the texts of LMSC also want to better understand how these verses function together. They faithfully preserve the same explanatory and transitionary phrases on vv. 4b–5a, as found in the text of P. However, they clearly seek to develop the tradition at this point. Concerning Ps 39:6, the texts of LMSC preserve comments on each phrase of this verse, as opposed to Aḥob's comments on v. 6a alone. Their gloss on v. 6a is identical to that which is found in the text of P. Since Aḥob's comments on v. 6a are a continuation of his comments on vv. 4b–5a, the whole of his Psalm 39:4–6 scholion is likely inserted into the texts of LMSC (albeit in a visually distinctive way) for two reasons: 1) it presents a more definitive explanation for the exegetical dilemma posed by vv. 4b–5a and the theological dilemma posed by v. 6a than what is found in the *DGC* manuscript tradition, and 2) it is easier to copy such a large scholion into the texts of LMSC, rather than into the margin, meaning the manner of its inclusion in the texts of LMSC is technical, rather than ideological, in nature.

3.4.7 *Psalm 40:8*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 40:8 states:

ܗܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܣܦܪ ܡܬܟܬܒ ܥܠܝ.	Then I said, "Behold! I have come.
ܒܪܫ ܕܓܠܝܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܥܠܝ	For in the beginning of the books
ܕܐܬܝ ܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢܟ.	it is written about me."

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[179]

179 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 40:8.

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> *Then I said, "Behold! I have come*, according to your will, as *in the beginning of the Scriptures* (ܒܪܫ ܣܦܪܐ), which is the book of the Law (ܣܦܪ ܢܡܘܣܐ), *it is written about me* (ܥܠܝ ܟܬܝܒ), and it proclaims me, that I will return."[180]

Aḥob's brief scholion, which states, "the sections of all the prophets" (ܟܠ ܦܣܩܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ), is written in the margins of LMS,[181] and it is not visually connected to any particular word or phrase in the texts of LMS.[182] Nevertheless, this scholion is arguably tied to two things: 1) the Ps 40:8 phrase, "in the beginning of the books it is written about me" (ܒܪܫ ܣܦܪ ܟܬܝܒ ܥܠܝ) and 2) the Peshitta Ps 40 heading, which states: "He[183] prophesies about the people and affirms as if in person about their[184] deliverance from exile" (ܥܠ ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܘܫܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܫܐ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܕܓܠܘ ܡܢ ܫܒܝܬܗܘܢ).[185] While it is unclear what he implies by the word "sections" (ܦܣܩܐ) in his scholion, Aḥob is likely suggesting that "in the beginning of the books" (ܒܪܫ ܣܦܪ) should be equated with the Old Testament prophetic books (hence his reference to "all the prophets" [ܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ]), rather than with the Law, which is the more obvious allusion implied by this Peshitta phrase.[186] In this way, Aḥob is suggesting that the Old Testament prophetic books foretold the exilic return of the Israelites, which is personified by David's Ps 40:8 phrase: "in the beginning of the books it is written about me."

Somewhat like Aḥob, the texts of LMS rely, at least in part, on the Ps 40 heading (though they use a slightly different heading from that which is preserved in the Peshitta Ps 40 heading), the relevant part of which states: "He[187] prophesies concerning the people, who (were) in Babylon, who recount their

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180 This translation is my own.

181 Given its inclusion of all the other Aḥob scholia, it is unclear why this particular Aḥob scholion is not included in C. There are two possibilities that explain its absence: 1) the unknown scribe of C accidentally overlooked it, or 2) his exemplar did not include this Aḥob scholion.

182 In the text of the *DGC*, there are no marks on any word connected to this Aḥob scholion. Similarly, this Aḥob scholion, which is written as a marginal gloss in LMS, is unmarked.

183 Namely, David.

184 Lit. his.

185 Harry F. Van Rooy, *The East Syriac Psalm Headings* (Texts and Studies 8; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 89.

186 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.3. Psalm 40:8. It should be noted that the use of ܟܠ ܦܣܩܐ (always in the singular) is not found in any of the Old Testament prophetic books; it is only found in the Psalms, and Aḥob is arguably not referencing the Psalms (as a whole) in his Psalm 40:8 scholion.

187 Namely, David.

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afflictions and give thanks that they have reached the return (to Israel)" (ܟܬܒ ܐܚܪ ܒܪܫ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܕܒܫܘܫܢ ܕܒܒܝܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܠܦ ܕܪܒܢܝ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܗܝ ܕܬܒ).[188] Unlike Aḥob, they clarify that the meaning of the phrase "in the beginning of the books" is a reference to "the book of the Law" (ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܟܬܒ), which likely has two implications: 1) it conveys the implied sense of "in the beginning of the books," and 2) it is a rejection of (the immediate sense of) Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on this phrase—whose Greek equivalent states, "In the scroll of the book" (Ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου)[189]—which suggests that it is a reference to the Old Testament prophetic books that prophesied about the exilic return of the Israelites.[190] However, while they discard the Theodorean notion that the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" itself refers to the prophetic books, they seem to accept its general premise that the Old Testament prophetic books prophesied about the exilic return. Thus, Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion is likely preserved in the margins of LMS for two reasons: 1) it establishes that many Old Testament books, beyond the Law, prophesied about the exilic return, and 2) it reinterprets and summarizes Theodore's interpretation of this phrase.[191] In this way, Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion likely functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's understanding of the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books."[192]

It is also worth noting that L appears to preserve this Aḥob scholion in connection with Ps 40:10; S takes a similar approach, except it presents this Aḥob scholion twice: the first is connected to Ps 40:8, and the second appears to be connected to Ps 40:10.[193] However, it is unclear why this Aḥob scholion would

188 For the full Syriac text of this psalm heading, see Appendix, Psalm 40.

189 This is also the sense of the MT (upon which the Peshitta relies), though it is unclear if the scribes of LMSC had access to the MT. See also LXX Ezek 2:9 for the same idiom.

190 See Robert Charles Hill (trans.), *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Commentary on Psalms 1–81* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 496, *7–9* (text) and 497 (trans.). Cf. Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72, n. 4. It is unclear why Theodore reaches this conclusion, because such a reading is not implied by the LXX. Also, the Syriac translation of Theodore's commentary on Ps 40 does not survive, though the Greek and a few fragments of its Latin translation have been preserved.

191 Isho'dad arguably approaches Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion in the same manner. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.9. Psalm 40:8.

192 P, ff. 94r, *23*–94v, *3* preserves the same reading of Ps 40:8 as what is later presented in LMSC. The *DGC* on Ps 40:8 (and, more broadly, Ps 40) is not extant in P^2.

193 Ps 40:10 states, "I have declared your righteousness in the great assembly, and my lips I have not restrained. You are the Lord; you know" (ܐܡܪ ܒܟܢܫܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܙܕܩܬܟ ܘܣܦܝ ܠܐ ܟܠܝܬ ܐܢ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܬ ܝܕܥ). The *DGC* on Ps 40:10 states, *"I have declared your righteousness* and I have proclaimed the sentence which your righteousness decreed upon them in the sight of Belshazzar and a thousand of his nobles, by which you brought us

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be associated with Ps 40:10 in LS. If the parallel *DGC* texts of Ps 40:8, 10 (concerning Israel's return from exile) are noted, then Ps 40:10 may have been viewed as an extension of Ps 40:8 and, thus, this Aḥob scholion would apply to both verses.

3.4.8 *Psalm 42:2*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 42:2 states:

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܥܠ ܦܓܪ ܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܗܟܢ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠ ܓܒܟ ܐܠܗܝ.	As a stag calls out for a stream of water, thus, also my soul calls out to you, Lord.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[194]

> *As a stag* (ܐܝܠܐ) which eats snakes and burns and *calls out* in its thirst *for a stream of water* and seeks to be refreshed by it. He calls the "*stream of water*" the water that is collected in the valleys in many places, and by the descent of rain and rushing streams, on account of the torrents, it[195] increases their depth, and they[196] keep the water in them in the time of summer. *Thus, also my soul calls out to you, Lord*. On account of the love which I have for you, you will save me from Babylon.[197]

Aḥob's scholion[198] is inserted into LMSC, though it is written in a smaller script and distinguished from the *DGC* texts of LMSC.[199] In this scholion, Aḥob dis-

back *to the great assembly*, which is Jerusalem, *and my lips I have not restrained* from my being a proclaimer of (the fact) that their kingdom is given to Media and Persia (and) from your praise and the narrations of your wonders. *You are the Lord; you know* (the things) which I have put in my mind, which I will observe when I have been redeemed." For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 40:10. See also Dan 5:1.

194 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 42:2.

195 Namely, the water.

196 Namely, the valleys.

197 This translation is my own.

198 Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion states, "Because, then, stags are by nature more dry and hot than other animals, they especially long for a drink *of water* when they have eaten of harmful reptiles. Like that which is the gall of snakes, which pollutes and adheres to the roof of their palate, it doubles upon them the heat which is in their nature. It is appropriate (that), by the example of *the stag*, (these things) were used (by David) to make known his love." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

199 In L, it is contained within red frames on f. 60r, *19–26*. In M, it is contained within red

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cusses the "stags" (ܐܝܠܐ),[200] specifically the reasons underlying their great thirst for water. He suggests that they "are by nature more dry and hot than other animals" (ܕܟܝܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ... ܝܒܫܘܬܐ ܘܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܐܪ ܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ). He further insists that "they especially long for a drink *of water* when they have eaten of harmful reptiles" (ܕܟܕ ܐܟܠܘ ... ܕܡܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ,ܒܛܢ ܕܡܪܝܪ̈ܐ). As the stags eat the harmful reptiles—which Aḥob equates with "snakes" (ܚܘܝܐ)—their gall is released into the mouth of the stags, and it subsequently "adheres to the roof of their palate" (ܘܡܬܠܨ ܒܣܬܡ ܚܟܐ), all of which causes them to feel an even greater sensation of heat.[201]

Aḥob's purpose for discussing the stags mentioned in Ps 42:2 is likely to highlight their perceived moral qualities, particularly as they correspond to David's love, presumably for God.[202] For instance, just as the stags have an increased thirst for water when the gall of snakes is released into their mouths, so, in a similar way, David's soul longs for God. It is not entirely clear how Aḥob intends to link the snakes to David's historical setting. It is possible that he simply means to equate the snakes with the wicked ones (ܪܫܥ̈ܐ), whom he briefly alludes to in his *Cause of the Psalms* as being those who will receive punishment.[203]

The texts of LMSC interpret Ps 42:2 in a similar manner to that of Aḥob. However, their interpretation does not offer any details as to why the consumption of snakes causes stags to burn and thirst for water.[204] Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion is included in LMSC, likely because it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition, in that it offers a more detailed elaboration on the source of the stags' thirst for water. Furthermore, and somewhat comparable to Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion is likely inserted

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frames on f. 60v, *2–11*. In S, it is the only text written on f. 112v. It is situated perpendicular to lines *13–21* of the facing folio (f. 113r), and, in this space, encompasses 8 short lines. In C, it is written perpendicular to lines *7–26* on f. 57r, and, in this space, encompasses 5 lines, the last of which is shorter than the others. No word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, is marked in LMSC to show a physical link between the two texts.

200 Aḥob pluralizes the Peshitta ܐܝܠܐ.

201 For a discussion of Aḥob's use of the *Physiologus* in this scholion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.4. The *Physiologus*.

202 For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.10. Psalm 42:2.

203 See Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *69–70*: "and about the punishment of the wicked (ones)" (ܘܥܠ ܡܫܡܥܬܗ ܕܪܫܥ̈ܐ).

204 P preserves the same translation of Ps 42:2 that is presented above, with the exception of one word: whereas LMSC use the word "snakes" (ܚܘܝܐ), P prefers "animals" (ܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ). See P, ff. 96v, *17*–97r, *2*. This psalm is not preserved in P[2].

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within the texts of LM (though markedly offset by red frames), because it was viewed as being too large a scholion to write in the margin. In other words, it was placed within the texts of LM for technical, rather than ideological, reasons. However, this same Aḥob scholion is situated on an adjacent blank page and/or as a marginal gloss in SC, either because their exemplar(s) preserved it in a similar manner or because it was perceived as being short enough to be presented as a marginal scholion.

3.4.9 *Psalm 45 Prologue*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:2 states:

ܫܦܝܪ ܠܝ ܒܦܘܓ̈ܐ ܠܒܝ.	My heart overflowed (with) good words,
ܐܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܥܒ̈ܕܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ.	and I will speak the works of the king.
ܠܫܢܝ ܩܠܡ ܣܦܪ ܡܗܝܪ.	My tongue (is like) the pen of a skilled scribe.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[205]

> You *caused my heart to pour forth* (ܫܦܝܪ ... ܠܝ). I exhort you to bring forth *good words*. *And I will speak* (*of*) *my works* to *the King* Messiah,[206] which he is going to perform when he is revealed, which are his teachings and his exalted gifts. *My tongue* (*is like*) *the pen of a skilled scribe*, which is the Holy Spirit.[207]

While this Aḥob scholion[208] is not visually connected to any word or phrase in the texts of VLMSC, its usage of the Peshitta phrase "My heart overflowed" (ܫܦܝܪ ܠܝ) connects it to Ps 45:2,[209] though the scholion itself was likely

205 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 45:2.

206 For a study of the phrase "King Messiah" (ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ), see Sebastian Brock, "Syria and Mesopotamia: The Shared Term *Malka Mshiḥa*" in Markus Bockmuehl and James Carleton Paget (eds.), *Redemption and Resistance: The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 171–182.

207 This translation is my own.

208 Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion states, "But the Jews in their madness take this psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife. But they are proved wrong by the words, especially by the beginning: *My heart overflowed*, etc." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

209 In V, this Aḥob scholion is presented as a footnote, implying that V's exemplar preserved it as a marginal note. Aside from the footnote number, it is not marked with any reference marker, either in Aḥob's scholion or in the text of the *DGC*. While LMSC preserve

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meant (in its original state) as an introductory comment on Ps 45 as a whole.[210] In this scholion, Aḥob attacks the Jews, who attribute this psalm to "Solomon and … his Egyptian wife" (ܫܠܡܘܢ ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܗ ... ܕ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ).[211] Aḥob is likely not polemicizing against any particular group of Jews. Rather, he seems to be citing a received tradition which (within the Jewish community) viewed Ps 45 as primarily discussing the natural love shared between Solomon and one of his wives.[212] While he does not explicitly state the reason(s) in this scholion, the basis on which he rejects this Jewish attribution is (in agreement with traditional Antiochene exegesis of this verse) that he likely views Ps 45 as a Messianic psalm. Thus, it does not speak about Solomon and/or one of his wives but about Jesus. Furthermore, Aḥob's usage of "etc." (ܘܟܕ̈ܡ) at the end of his scholion is important, because the Peshitta text, after "my heart overflowed," goes on to state "I will speak the works of the king" (ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܥܒ̈ܕܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ). Since Solomon was a king, Aḥob likely wishes to avoid any mention of the word "king" (ܡܠܟܐ) in his scholion. This would explain why he bases his argument for rejecting the Jewish attribution on the first two words of this psalm, namely "my heart overflowed" (ܐܬܪܚܫ ܠܒܝ).[213]

The texts of VLMSC also understand Ps 45 to be a Messianic psalm, which they explicitly state when they describe the noun "king" (ܡܠܟܐ) as "Messiah" (ܡܫܝܚܐ). They further elaborate this point by explaining what the Messiah will come to do: "to perform … his teachings and his exalted gifts" (ܠܡܥܒܕ ܢܡܘܣ̈ܗܝ ܘܡܬܢ̈ܗ ܪܡ̈ܐ ...).[214] However, since the *DGC* manuscript tradition does not have an introduction to Ps 45, a portion of Aḥob's original Psalm 45 Prologue scholion[215] is likely included in VLMSC,[216] near Ps 45:2, for

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this Aḥob scholion in the margin, no word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, is marked to show a connection between the two texts.

210 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue.

211 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.1.2. Psalm 45 Prologue.

212 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue and Section 5.6. The Polemics of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

213 Aḥob does not cite key words in Ps 45:2, likely because he expects his readers to know them.

214 P, f. 101v, *7–9* preserves the same descriptions of ܡܠܟܐ. This psalm is not preserved in P[2].

215 If this proposal is accepted, I would further argue that this Aḥob scholion is fragmented at its beginning and end. The fragmentation at its beginning is revealed by the postpositive "but" (ܐܝܟ), which suggests that he is contrasting one thing with another, the former of which is now lost. The fragmentation at its end is revealed in two ways: 1) its abrupt ending and 2) (as I have argued above) Aḥob's likely belief that Ps 45 is a Messianic psalm. Concerning the latter, this can be known because his scholion, as a whole, follows a traditional Antiochene exegetical approach to Ps 45, a tradition which viewed Ps 45 as Messianic in nature. However, this Aḥob scholion ends before such an argument is likely presented.

216 It is also possible that the scribes of VLMSC are merely copying from their respective

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three reasons: 1) it offers a brief introductory note on Ps 45 as a whole;[217] 2) it quotes a phrase from Ps 45:2; and 3) it offers support—not found in the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition—for viewing Ps 45 as a Messianic psalm, meaning that it functions as a theological corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's exegesis of this psalm.[218]

3.4.10 *Psalm 45:9*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:9 states:

ܡܪ ܘܩܨܝܐ ܘܠܒܢܝ.	Myrrh and cassia and stacte
ܟܠ ܠܒܘܫܟ ܫܦܝ ܠܫܘܚܢ.	perfume all your garments.
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܙܟܝ	From the finest temple
ܡܢ ܠܟ ܚܕܝ ܐܟܝܢ.	and from my presence, they made you glad.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[219]

> *Myrrh* (ܡܪ) for your embalming *and cassia* (ܩܨܝܐ) *and stacte* (ܠܒܢܝ)—a glorious and fragrant smell, which, on account of your Passion,[220] is going to be (spread) through all the habitable earth. *Myrrh*

exemplars, meaning they have no further knowledge of or access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Psalms scholia.

217 Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 452, n. 75.

218 It is unlikely that this Aḥob scholion is included in VLMSC for the purposes of polemicizing against any particular localized Jewish group in the late 19th century. This can be known for three reasons: 1) VLMS each have a known location of origin: VLM were produced in Alqosh, and S originates from Urmia, and both centers of living are roughly 160 miles apart. It is unclear why copyists of the *DGC* (who likely do not know of each other) would preserve the exact same portion of this Aḥob scholion, as if they are waging the same theological war in two cities against similarly-minded groups of Jews. 2) It is unclear if earlier, now lost, copies of the *DGC* (which contained Aḥob scholia) also contained the same portion of this particular scholion. If they did, it would mean that the scribes of the latter, extant copies of the *DGC* are simply copying earlier texts, marginal scholia included, for the purposes of preserving earlier texts, not for the purposes of polemicizing against current theological issues. 3) The *DGC*, as a whole, does not include a lot of material that openly attacks Jewish interpretations of the Psalms. One would suspect that if the *DGC* were polemical in nature, it would include more polemical material, either in-text or in its marginalia. Neither appears to be the case.

219 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 45:9.

220 Cf. Mark 16:1; Luke 23:56; John 19:39–40.

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> is well known. *Cassia* in the Arabic language (is) *salīkha yābisa* (ܗܠܝܚܐ ܝܒܝܣܐ, dry gum tree).[221] *And stacte* (in the Arabic language is) *lubnā* (ܠܒܢܐ, storax).[222] But by this it indicates the embalming spices (ܣܘܟܠܐ) that Nicodemus brought.[223] *They perfume all your garments*, that is to say, your body, for within it,[224] as within a veil, the nature of the divinity is hidden and concealed from onlookers. *From the finest* (ܡܢ ܫܦܝܪ) *temple, from my*, God's (ܐܠܗܝ), *presence, they made you glad*, Christ, (namely) all the nations who build temples for your name and they arise and glorify you by their splendid way of life. And, also, the young children and infants who cried out with Hosannas at your entrance to Jerusalem.[225] For by the one temple he indicates many temples.[226]

Aḥob's marginal scholion[227] is visually (and correctly) connected to the LMSC (and Peshitta) word "finest" (ܡܢ ܫܦܝܪ),[228] as well as incorrectly to the proper noun (here functioning as an adjective), "God's" (ܐܠܗܝ) in V.[229] His Psalm 45:9 scholion is presented in two parts: 1) a philological note on the Syriac word "finest" and 2) brief explanations of "stacte" (ܣܘܟܠܐ) and "cassia" (ܩܨܡ). In the first part, Aḥob compares the Syriac ܡܢ ܫܦܝܪ with a comparable Hebrew reading, ܡܢ ܫܦܝܢ, meaning "ivory."[230] Aḥob is interested in figuring out why there is such a stark difference in the spelling (and thus the meaning) of these two nouns. He suggests that two changes were made to ܫܦܝܢ: the dot of the dalath (ܕ) was placed above the letter, turning it into a resh (ܪ), and the letter nun (ܢ)

221 The underlying Arabic phrase is سليخة يابسة.

222 The underlying Arabic noun is لبنى.

223 Cf. John 19:39–40.

224 Namely, the body.

225 Cf. Matt 21:8–9; Mark 11:8–10; Luke 19:37–38; John 12:13.

226 This translation is my own.

227 Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion states, "Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory.' Here, the grammatical point was changed and this letter, which (was) a nun, was shortened. *Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar. But *cassia* (is) peeled-off rind." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

228 LSC mark ܡܢ ܫܦܝܪ with a red dot above it, while M marks it with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word. While the equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion is not marked in LMSC, C does mark ܣܘܟܠܐ and ܩܨܡ in Aḥob's scholion with a red dot above each word.

229 V connects Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion to ܐܠܗܝ and presents it in a footnote, implying that V's exemplar preserved it as a marginal note. Aside from the footnote number, it is not marked with any reference marker, either in Aḥob's scholion or in the text of the *DGC*.

230 The Hebrew for "ivory," as preserved in MT Ps 45:9, is שֵׁן. For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

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was made shorter, turning it into a yod (ܝ). Thus, ܫܥܪܐ became ܫܥܝ, and the variant meaning of "finest," from "ivory," was established. In short, Aḥob thinks that the correct (and likely original) Peshitta reading of this word is ܫܥܪܐ, and that this was later corrupted in Syriac to ܫܥܝ.[231]

In the second part of his scholion, Aḥob reverses the Peshitta order of stacte and cassia and then simply defines them: stacte is *asinat* (ܐܣܝܢܬ, stacte) according to "the language of Qatar" (ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܪ),[232] and cassia is "peeled-off rind" (ܩܠܝܦܬ ܩܠܦܐ). He offers no further insights into why he deems these particular glosses as authoritative at this point, other than the likely presumption that his readers will recognize and understand the sense of these two glosses more readily than the perceived elusive meanings of the Peshitta cassia and stacte.

While the texts of VLMSC are not interested in the grammatical formation of ܫܥܝ, they do seek to better understand what stacte and cassia denote, and they follow the Peshitta order in their discussion. To this end, they suggest a Garshuni gloss for each word: cassia is "dried cinnamon bark" (ܩܠܝܦ ܩܪܘܦ ܕܩܝܢܡܘܢ), while stacte means "storax" (ܣܛܘܪܐ). Along with "myrrh" (ܡܘܪ), they suggest that these were the "spices" (ܒܣܡܐ) which Nicodemus used to embalm Christ's body. Thus, the texts of VLMSC (as well as the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition) view cassia and stacte as largely Christological in nature, though to a certain degree historical as well.[233] Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion is likely included in VLMSC for two reasons: 1) it explains the origin of ܫܥܝ, which is something the *DGC* manuscript tradition does not discuss, and 2) its glosses of cassia and stacte provide further, supplementary information to help identify these spices.

3.4.11 *Psalm 48:4*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 48:4 states:

ܒܐܪܡܘܬܗ ܐܠܗܐ	Within its[234] citadels, God
ܐܫܬܡܗ ܠܡܕܥ.	makes his power known.

231 Incidentally, this conjecture for an original reading of this word is not listed in the Leiden edition of Psalms.

232 For a further discussion of *asinat*, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.5.1. Gloss on ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܪ.

233 With the exception of a few minor differences (largely in word order), P, f. 102v, *4–18* preserves the same commentary on Ps 45:9.

234 Namely, Jerusalem.

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The *DGC* on this same verse states:[235]

> *Within the sāḥrātāh* (ܒܫܚܪܬܗ) of Jerusalem, *God makes his power known* to its inhabitants, and he destroys his enemies. The *sāḥrātā* are called valleys (ܫܘܚܠ̈ܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝ ܫܚܪܬܐ); but, in the Arabic language, (they are called) *ṣakhra* (ܨܚܪܐ, a rock).[236]

Aḥob's marginal scholion[237] is visually connected to the Peshitta ܒܫܚܪܬܗ.[238] In this scholion, Aḥob recognizes that the word ܒܫܚܪܬܗ is an unusual word and in need of clarification. He suggests that it should be understood as "big buildings" (ܒܬ̈ܐ ܪܒ̈ܐ), likely because he is aware of passages like 2 Kgs 15:25[239] and Isa 13:22,[240] both of which strongly suggest that ܒܫܚܪܬܗ are palaces or big buildings.

The texts of LMS also seek to clarify the meaning of the Peshitta ܒܫܚܪܬܗ. The *DGC* manuscript tradition understands this word to be referring to "valleys" (ܫܘܚܠ̈ܐ),[241] presumably those which surround Jerusalem, as is mentioned in Ps 48:3.[242] However, from any early date, there was scribal confusion surrounding the meaning of ܒܫܚܪܬܗ, as is evidenced by the Garshuni gloss, ܨܚܪܐ (Arabic: صخرة), meaning "rock" but also having the connotation of a "citadel."[243] This Garshuni gloss may have been utilized, because it was consid-

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235 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 48:4.

236 The underlying Arabic noun is صخرة. This translation is my own.

237 Aḥob's Psalm 48:4 scholion states, "Palaces (that is to say) big buildings." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

238 LMC mark ܒܫܚܪܬܗ with a red dot over it, though the unknown scribe of C failed to subsequently write this Aḥob scholion in the margin. S does not mark this word. LMS do not place an equivalent mark on any part of Aḥob's scholion.

239 2 Kgs 15:25 states, "And Pecah, the son of Remaliah, his mighty man, rebelled against him, and he killed him in Samaria, in the citadel of the palace. And he took Argob and Arieh and, with him, fifty men from the people of Gilead, and he killed him and he reigned in his place" (ܘܩܛܠ ܦܩܚ ܒܪ ܪܡܠܝܐ ܓܒܪܗ ܒܫܡܪܝܢ ܒܓܘ ܒܬ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܪܓܘܒ ܘܐܪܝܐ ܘܥܡ ܗܘ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒ̈ܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܓܠܥܕ ܘܩܛܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܡܠܟ ܬܚܘܬ ܝܬܗ).

240 Isa 13:22 states, "And sirens will respond in their palaces and jackals in the palaces of their pleasures; its time to come is near, and also its days will not be extended" (ܘܥܢܝܢ ܣܝܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܐܪ̈ܡܢܬܗ ܘܬܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܗܝܟܠ̈ܝ ܥܘܢܓܗ ܘܩܪܝܒ ܠܡܬܐ ܙܒܢܗ ܘܝܘܡ̈ܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܢܬܪܘܟܘܢ).

241 See P, f. 107r, *4–5*. The *DGC* on Ps 48 is no longer extant in P².

242 Lit. "Mount Zion" (ܛܘܪ ܨܗܝܘܢ).

243 Cf. Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (*Arabic-English*), 4th rev. ed., ed. J. Milton Cowan (Urbana, IL: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1994), 590. P, f. 107r, *5* and outside margin present a slightly different Garshuni word (ܨܚܪ) and Arabic gloss (صحاري). S,

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ered a popular explanation for another set of meanings implied by ܩܪܝܬܐ: "citadel, palace" as well as "arch, vault" and "building."[244] The use of both "rock" and "big buildings" to define ܛܘܪܣܐ suggests that the texts of LMS are seeking to preserve two traditions of interpretation surrounding ܛܘܪܣܐ: one denoting something natural, namely, the rocky valleys around Jerusalem (i.e. ܛܝܪܝ), and the other referring to physical buildings within Jerusalem (i.e. ܩܛܘܪܐ ܩܒ). Since the meaning of ܛܘܪܣܐ is uncertain, Aḥob's brief Psalm 48:4 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMS, because it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's understandings of this word.

3.4.12 *Psalm 58:4*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 58:4 states:

ܙܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܣ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܚܛܝܐ.	The wicked (ones) were separated from the belly,
ܐܬܬܥܘ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܐܡܐ	and they went astray from the womb,
ܕܡܪܚܫܐ ܡܠܠܝ.	for they speak falsehood.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[245]

> *The wicked* (*ones*) *were separated from the belly* (ܙܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܣ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܚܛܝܐ), and they persecuted Moses, and in the wilderness the house of Aaron, and in the promised land Samuel, and today (in this psalm) David. But *the wicked* (*ones*) *were* not *separated from the belly* to do wickedness, but from the time that their discernment began to know (the difference between) good and evil. *And they went astray from the womb, for they*

f. 126r, 7 preserves a different spelling of this Garshuni word: ܛܘܪܣܐ, which also means "rock." It is unclear if P was the first *DGC* manuscript to incorporate this (and other) Garshuni glosses into its text or if they were copied from an earlier source.

244 Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns / Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 994. Sokoloff associates the meaning of "citadel, palace" with Ps 48:4. The Garshuni ܛܝܪܝ is a false cognate for ܩܛܘܪܣܐ: the ܣ in Syriac becomes a س in Arabic; it cannot become a ص, which (in Syriac) equates to ܨ. While it is very unlikely that an Arabic word with س could be a cognate of a Syriac word with ܣ, this was not obvious to early exegetes who produced etymologies such as this one.

245 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 58:4.

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> *speak falsehood*. But from (the time) they possessed understanding in a continual manner, they were rejoicing in evil (things), like the *calf* which they[246] *made* in the wilderness, *and they worshipped it*[247] and were proclaiming, "(*This*) is *your God, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt*."[248]

Aḥob's scholion[249] is inserted into LMSC, though it is written in a smaller script and distinguished from the DGC texts of LMSC.[250] While it is not visually connected to any word or phrase in the texts of LMSC,[251] Aḥob's usage of the Peshitta phrase "the wicked (ones) were separated from the belly" (ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܡܢ ܟܪܣܐ ܕܚܝܒܐ) likely connects it with Ps 58:4. In this scholion, Aḥob focuses on what it means that the "wicked (ones)" (ܚܝܒܐ) "were separated from the belly" (ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ... ܡܢ ܟܪܣܐ). He suggests that David spoke this phrase "against the sons of their people" (ܠܥܡ ܒܢܝ ܥܡܗ), likely implying the Jews.[252] Using phrases from Prov 1:7[253] and Bar Sira 1:14,[254] Aḥob contrasts the wicked

246 Namely, the Israelites.

247 Exod 32:8.

248 Exod 32:8. The translation of this DGC text is my own.

249 Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion states, "*The wicked* (*ones*) *were separated from the belly*. He spoke this against the sons of their people. For just as it is said concerning the righteous (ones) that *from* the belly of *their mother wisdom was created with* them, for with the fear of God they began before every (thing), so here, he says likewise concerning the wicked (ones), that they were known by God from their creation that they would do this. But instead of *they were separated*, the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

250 In L, it is contained within red frames on f. 78r, *8–17* and, in this space, encompasses 12 short lines. In M, it is contained within red frames on f. 77r, *22–28* and, in this space, encompasses 8 short lines. In S, it is written perpendicular to lines *9–14* on f. 145r and, contained within black frames, encompasses 12 short lines. In C, it is written parallel to lines *26–29* on f. 72r in a smaller script, and, in this space, encompasses 6 short lines.

251 LMSC do not mark any word or phrase, either within the text of the DGC or in this Aḥob scholion, to show a physical link between the two texts.

252 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6. The Polemics of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

253 Prov 1:7 states, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord, but the wicked (ones) despise knowledge and chastisement" (ܪܝܫ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܚܠܬ ܡܪܗܝ ܘܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܡܘܣܪܐ ܚܝܒܐ ܒܙܘ).

254 Bar Sira 1:14 states, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord, and she was created with the faithful (ones) from the belly of their mother" (ܪܝܫ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܚܠܬ ܡܪܗܝ ܘܥܡ ܗܝܡܢܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܬ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܐܡܗ). See Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *Wisdom of the Scribe*, 66. My English translation differs slightly from their English translation.

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(ones) with the "righteous (ones)" (ܙܕܝܩܐ) and "wisdom" (ܚܟܡܬܐ), both of whom were created alongside each other "from the belly of their mother" (ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܐܡܗ)[255] and "with the fear of God" (ܥܡ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ).[256] The implication here is that these verses state a similar concept as the Ps 58:4 phrase "the wicked (ones) were separated from the belly," though they focus on the righteous (ones). While Aḥob insists that the wicked (ones) "were known by God from their creation" (ܕܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܝܕܥ), he does not imply that God created them to be wicked, just as (inferred by Prov 1:7 and Bar Sira 1:14) he does not suggest that God created others to be righteous. Rather, in both cases, Aḥob wishes to say that God knows what all people (whether righteous or wicked) will do, because he is omniscient. However, at the same time, he wishes to avoid equating God's omniscience with God predetermining the actions of people, because he perceives people's free will to be the determining factor that causes some to become righteous and others to become wicked. Aḥob concludes his scholion with a brief Hebrew reading: whereas the Peshitta states "they were separated" (ܐܬܦܠܓܘ), "the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged'" (ܟܬܝܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܪܚܩܘ ... ܩܪܝ).[257] Aḥob likely includes this Hebrew reading to further highlight the ambiguity of the Peshitta "they were separated" and to emphasize his particular interpretation of it, namely, that the general force of the ethpʿel perfect verb is that of being alienated. While he includes this Hebrew reading, he does not engage with it but, instead, abruptly ends his scholion.

The texts of LMSC also seek to better understand the Peshitta phrase "the wicked (ones) were separated from the belly." However, unlike Aḥob—who largely focuses on the two abstract groups of the wicked and the righteous, the texts of LMSC center their interpretation on the people who were wicked from the time of Moses to the time of David, with an emphasis on the Israelites.

255 Aḥob's reference to the righteous ones and wisdom in this context is arguably a partial quotation, from memory, of Bar Sira 1:14. It is likely that Aḥob is quoting this verse from memory, because he states, "it is said" (ܟܬܝܒ) and then quotes two parts of the verse in reverse order, though maintaining the sense of the verse.

256 Aḥob's phrase "the fear of God" (ܥܡ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ) is likely a dual reference to both Prov 1:7 and Bar Sira 1:14. Aḥob is likely quoting these verses from memory; one example that supports this proposal is that he uses the noun "God" (ܐܠܗܐ) instead of the Peshitta "Lord" (ܡܪܝܐ) in the phrase "fear of the Lord" (ܕܚܠܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ). There are no recorded variants for the word ܡܪܝܐ in Prov 1:7, and a critical edition of Bar Sira has not yet been produced.

257 The Hebrew of this verb, as used in MT Ps 58:4, is זָרוּ. For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

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Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion is included in LMSC, likely because it presents an alternative explanation for the phrase "the wicked (ones) were separated from the belly." Furthermore, and somewhat comparable to his Psalm 39:4–6 and Psalm 42:2 scholia, Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion is likely inserted within the texts of LMSC (though markedly offset by red/black frames and/or in a smaller script), because it was viewed as being too large a scholion to write in the margin. In this way, this Aḥob scholion is placed within the texts of LMSC for technical, rather than ideological, reasons.

3.4.13 *Psalm 58:5–6*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 58:5–6 states:

ܗܘ ܕܡܡܪܝܗܘܢ [5]	[5] Their anger is like (that)
ܗܘ ܕܐܦܝܐ ܕܣܪܝܩܐ ܐܝܟ	of a basilisk and like (that)
ܐܝܟ ܐܦܬܐ ܛܡܝܬܐ ܕܣܬܡ	of a deaf asp that stops
ܐܕܢܘܗܝ. [6] ܕܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ	its ears, [6] so that it will not hear the voice
ܩܠ ܡܚܫܫܐ ܐܘ ܡܟܫܦܐ	of the charmer or the conjuror or the magician.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[258]

> [5] Thus David (said) *the fury* of the Jews and the Gentiles, against the Maccabees, was (as) fierce *as* (*that*) *of a basilisk* (ܐܝܟ ܕܣܪܝܩܐ), whose gall (is) more evil than that of other (serpents)—that (serpent) which also flies in the air, as (some) say, and jumps from tree to tree. *And* (*their anger*) is *like* (*that*) *of an asp* (ܐܦܬܐ), a *deaf* snake (ܛܡܝܬܐ), that which (is) short in its length. In the Arabic language, (it is) *af'a* (ܐܦܥܐ, viper).[259] *That stops its ears*, one (being) buried in the dust and the other (being blocked) with its tail, [6] *so that it will not hear*. Others say that God fashioned it without the sense of hearing. *The voice of the charmer or the conjuror or the magician*. He calls him a "*charmer*," because of his incantations. A *charmer* in the Arabic language (is) *rāq*.[260] And (he calls him) a "*conjuror*," because he allied himself with Satan, and (he calls him) a "*magician*,"

258 For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 58:5–6.

259 In P, f. 123r, *14*, the underlying Arabic noun, افعى, is written directly after the Garshuni ܐܦܥܐ. P[2], f. 11v, *10* does not include this Arabic gloss.

260 Meaning "sorcerer" (ܩܛܝܡ). The underlying Arabic noun is راق.

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> because of his skill with incantations. Thus, also are these (ones); *they stopped up their ears so that they would not hear*[261] the good words which were being spoken to them.[262]

Aḥob's Psalm 58:5–6 scholion[263] is visually connected to the Peshitta "asp" (ܐܦܥܐ).[264] In this scholion, Aḥob briefly states that "the *asp* will not be controlled by charms" (ܐܦܥܐ ܠܐ ... ܒܥܝܠܬܐ), especially those produced "by a *charmer*" (ܒܥܝܠܐ); his wording is a paraphrasing of Ps 58:6.[265] He suggests that the asp acts in such a way, because "it received" (ܩܒܠ) its "nature from God" (ܟܝܢܐ ܡܢ ... ܐܠܗܐ). In other words, despite its fierceness, the asp is still one of God's creatures. Aḥob does not offer any further explanation as to why God gave the asp a nature that will not be controlled by charms, possibly because it was a commonly accepted trope in his time. While it is unclear why he switches from the use of the Peshitta ܐܦܥܐ to ܐܝܦܐ (the latter of which also means "asp") in the second part of his scholion,[266] he concludes with a brief reference to its perceived Persian equivalent: "And asp in the Persian language" (ܘܒܠܫܢ ܦܪܣ ܐܝܦܐ) is "*dasāg*" (ܕܣܟ, dragon).[267] Aḥob likely intends that his Psalm 58:5–6 scholion will underscore what this asp is and why it cannot be charmed.

In their commentary on Ps 58:5–6, the texts of LMSC mention three different types of serpent-like creatures: 1) "basilisk" (ܚܘܝܐ ܕܣܡ), 2) "asp" (ܐܦܥܐ), and 3) "snake" (ܚܘܝܐ). Only the basilisk and the snake are given brief

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261 Zech 7:11.

262 This translation is my own.

263 Aḥob's Psalm 58:5–6 scholion states, "But it is said, concerning the [58:5] *asp*, that according to the nature it received from God the *asp* will not be controlled by charms, which (are produced) by [6] a *charmer*. And asp in the Persian language is *dasāg*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

264 LMC mark ܐܦܥܐ with a red dot over it; S does not mark this word. The equivalent word in Aḥob's marginal scholion is not marked in LMSC.

265 While Aḥob's reference to the asp, the charms, and the charmer are drawn from Ps 58:5–6, he may also be referring secondarily to a combination of Eccl 10:11 and Jer 8:17 from memory, with the addition of his own insights on these verses. Eccl 10:11 states, "And if a snake bites without a charm, there is no advantage for the charmer" (ܐܢ ܢܫܟ ܚܘܝܐ ܒܠܚܫ ܠܝܬ ܝܬܪܘܢ ܠܒܥܝܠܐ ܕܠܚܫ), and Jer 8:17 states, "'Because, behold! I am sending snakes upon you, basilisks that do not receive charms, and they will bite you,' said the Lord" (ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܫܕܪ ܒܟܘܢ ܚܘܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܒܠܝܢ ܠܚܫܐ ܘܢܫܟܘܢ ܒܟܘܢ).

266 There are no recorded variants for ܐܦܥܐ or its equivalent MT פֶּתֶן and LXX ἀσπίδος.

267 For a further discussion of Aḥob's use of ܕܣܟ, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

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descriptions. Aḥob's Psalm 58:5–6 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC for three related reasons: 1) it offers a brief description of asp, which was not included in the *DGC* manuscript tradition's exegesis of Ps 58:5–6;[268] 2) the texts of LMSC equate the Arabic افعى (which underlies the *DGC* "viper" [ܐܦܥܐ]) with Aḥob's Syriac ܐܝܦܐ;[269] 3) the texts of LMSC view Aḥob's usage of the Persian loan word "dragon" (ܕܪܟܘܢ) as a corrective for ܬܢܝܢܐ.

3.4.14 *Psalm 68:14*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:14 states:

ܐܢ ܬܫܟܒܘܢ ܒܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ.	If you should lie down among the thorns,
ܟܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ ܒܟܣܦܐ ܘܒܝܫܝ ܒܕܗܒ ܚܘܪ.	the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver
	and its feathers with refined gold.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[270]

> *If you should lie down*, that is to say, (if) you should be at rest *among the thorns* (ܒܬܚܘܡܐ ܬܫܟܒܘܢ), which are the enemies who surrounded you. Instead of plaster (ܒܓܠܨܐ), (Scripture states) *the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver* (ܟܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ ܒܟܣܦܐ ܘܒܝܫܝ), that is to say, with silver (ܒܟܣܦܐ), *and its feathers with refined gold*, (with) which they will work in the temple of God[271] when it is rebuilt and there is (a time) when (it will be) in your houses, due to the abundance and the riches and the good (things), which will be given to you from God. And he calls "*refined gold*" the finest flawless gold.[272]

While Aḥob's marginal scholion[273] is visually connected to the Peshitta "thorns" (ܒܬܚܘܡܐ) in Ps 68:14,[274] it focuses on the broader prepositional phrase "among

268 See P, f. 123r, *9–14* and P^2, f. 11v, *5–10*.

269 Cf. Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1648, *14* and Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 1268.

270 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 68:14.

271 Cf. 1 Kgs 6:20–21.

272 This translation is my own.

273 Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion states, "But instead of *among the thorns*, the Hebrew says, 'between the manure pile.' But instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, 'between the lots.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

274 L marks ܒܬܚܘܡܐ with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word;

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the thorns" (ܒܝܢ ܣܟ̈ܝܐ). Though Aḥob knows what the phrase "among the thorns" states in Syriac, he appears to be uncertain as to what it means in the context of this verse.[275] In order to establish the sense of "among the thorns," he turns to comparable Hebrew and Greek readings. The equivalent phrases in MT Ps 68:14 and LXX Ps 67:14 state, "between the sheepfolds" (בֵּין שְׁפָתָיִם)[276] and "between the lots" (μέσον τῶν κλήρων), respectively. Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings state, "among the manure pile" (ܒܝܢ ܡܙܒܠܐ)[277] and "between the lots" (ܒܝܢ ܟ̈ܦܐ),[278] respectively. Though he clearly knows that the MT and LXX of this phrase state something different than the Peshitta, he does not offer any further explanation, especially as to whether his Hebrew or Greek reading should be regarded as the preferred reading for understanding "among the thorns."

The texts of LMSC also appear to be confused over aspects of Ps 68:14, the focal point of which is the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver" (ܕܟܣܦ ܡܬܚܦܝܢ ܒܕܗܒ ܝܪܩ ܓܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܬܐ). Before discussing this phrase, they suggest (in passing) that the "wings of a dove" have been described elsewhere as being overlaid with "plaster" (ܒܠܣ). The term "plaster" is a rare biblical word,[279] and it is unclear what the texts of LMSC's source or meaning is for it in this context, though it is possible that they are referring to Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on this verse, which uses the phrase "doves in plaster" (περιστερὰς ἀπὸ γύψου).[280] After stating the Peshitta phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver," the texts of LMSC immediately qualify "silver" (ܟܣܦ) with another word meaning "silver" (ܟܣܦ). Though both nouns are used in the Peshitta, ܟܣܦ came to mean "money" (in the general sense) and so was

MSC mark this word with a red dot above it. LMC mark the equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion with a red dot above it; S does not mark this word in Aḥob's scholion.

275 There are no recorded variants for Ps 68:14 in the Peshitta.

276 Aside from Ezek 40:43, this is the only time the Hebrew noun שְׁפָתָיִם is used in the Hebrew Old Testament, and its meaning is uncertain, though many modern translators render it as "sheepfolds." It is possible that the Peshitta ŠPY' is an attempt to find a word close to the Hebrew ŠPTYM.

277 For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

278 For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Greek reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3. Greek Readings.

279 The noun ܒܠܣ (with the meaning of "plaster") is only used five times in the Peshitta Old Testament, in Deut 27:2, 4; Isa 27:9; 33:12; Dan 5:5. See Robert Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), col. 1751.

280 Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 872, *14* (text) and 873 (trans.). The exact role of the Peshitta phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver" in this verse is uncertain.

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confusing to later readers.[281] Thus, the texts of LMSC clarify its meaning with a more well-known noun that has the particular meaning of "silver," namely, ܟܣܦܐ.

Given their interest in clarifying the meaning of the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver," it is striking that LMSC do not include an Aḥob scholion that focuses on this particular phrase. Instead they incorporate one that focuses on a different phrase in this verse. This may evidence the fact that Aḥob never produced a scholion on the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver"; if he did, it is almost certain that it would have been included in LMSC at this point.[282] It is also likely that Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion was once longer and only a portion of it is preserved in LMSC.[283] Thus, Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC, because, like LMSC's discussion of the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver," it highlights a general uncertainty surrounding otherwise difficult phraseology in Ps 68:14.

3.4.15 *Psalm 68:16–17*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:16–17 states:

[16] ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.	[16] mountain of God.
ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ	Mountains of Bashan! Mountains
ܕܓܒܢܝܡ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ.	of Gebanyam! Mountains of Bashan!
[17] ܠܡܐ ܡܕܡ ܚܫܒܝܢ	[17] What do you want
ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܝܡ. ܗܘ ܛܘܪܐ	in the mountains of Gebanyam, the mountain
ܕܚܫܩ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ.	in which God chose to dwell?
ܐܦ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ.	The Lord will dwell in it forever.

281 Cf. Michael P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 174.

282 It is also possible that, if Aḥob did comment on this phrase, it has been lost, meaning the scribes of LMSC (and/or the scribe(s) of their exemplar(s)) would not have known of its existence.

283 Given Aḥob's propensity for ending a scholion with a corrective quote from another dialect, language, and/or biblical source (i.e. his Psalm 45:9; 58:4, 5–6; 68:14, 16–17 scholia), it is possible that this scholion (in its present state) is only the original ending. If accepted, this would imply that there was once a further explanation which preceded and was connected to what is extant of this scholion.

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The *DGC* on these same verses states:[284]

> [16] The *mountain of God* (ܛܘܪ ܐܠܗܐ). The Gentiles—the inhabitants of the *mountains of Bashan*, the kingdom of Og (ܡܬܚܬ ܥܘܓ ܕܒܫܢ)[285]—are the *mountains of Gebanyam* (ܛܘܪܝ ܓܒܢܝܡ), which surround the mountain of Zion (ܛܘܪ ܨܝܘܢ). *Mountains of Bashan!* [17] *Why do you, mountains of Gebanyam, want* (ܠܡܐ ܛܘܪܝ ܓܒܢܝܡ ܬܪܥܝܢ) to uproot the people in your envy (ܒܩܢܝܢܘܬܟ), who have now been newly planted (here)? These are (the names of) regions. (Concerning) *the mountain in which God chose* from all the mountains of Jerusalem *to dwell*, even if you seek to do evil to it ten thousand times, it will not be able to be harmed. *The Lord will dwell in it forever*, and it will not be conquered by its enemies.[286]

Aḥob's marginal scholion[287] visually connects "you (are) arguing" (ܬܪܥܝܢ) with the LMSC (and Peshitta) "you want" (ܬܪܥܝܢ).[288] Though he does not state it outright, Aḥob seeks to understand two things in this scholion: 1) the meaning of the final two phrases of Ps 68:16: "Mountains of Gebanyam! Mountains of Bashan!" (ܛܘܪܝ ܓܒܢܝܡ ܛܘܪ ܒܫܢ), and 2) the manner by which these phrases tie into the beginning of v. 17: "what do you want?" (ܠܡܐ ܬܪܥܝܢ). In order to better understand the end of v. 16 and the beginning of v. 17 in the Peshitta, Aḥob turns to comparable Hebrew and Greek readings. The equivalent phrase in MT Ps 68:16–17 states, "Mountain of Bashan! [17] Why do you look with envy" (הַר־בָּשָׁן: [17] לָמָּה תְּרַצְּדוּן);[289] the relevant phrase in LXX Ps 67:16 states, "fat mountain, curdled mountain" (ὄρος πῖον, ὄρος τετυρωμένον). Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings state, "Mountains of Bashan, [17] why

284 For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 68:16–17.

285 Cf. Josh 13:30.

286 This translation is my own.

287 Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion states, "But the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] 'Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?' But the Greek says, [67:16] 'Fat mountains, mountains of curd.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

288 LM mark ܬܪܥܝܢ with a red dot over it. C marks it with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word; S does not mark this word. The equivalent word in the *DGC*, ܬܪܥܝܢ, (as well as "of Gebanyam" [ܕܓܒܢܝܡ]) is marked as follows: LMC place a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z" above both words; S does not mark either word.

289 Aside from Sir 14:22, this is the only time the Hebrew verb תְּרַצְּדוּן is used in the Hebrew Old Testament, and its meaning is uncertain.

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(are) you arguing?" (ܠܡܐ ܫܪܝܬ ܗܘ [17] ܕܒܫܢ ... ܛܘܪܐ)[290] and "fat mountains, mountains of curd" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ. ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܡ),[291] respectively. While he knows that the MT and LXX state something different than the Peshitta at this point, he does not suggest whether his Hebrew or Greek reading should be regarded as the preferred reading in this context, nor does he offer any further insights concerning Ps 68:16–17.

Though modern translations render the phrase הָרִים גַּבְנֻנִּים as "many-peaked mountains," the meaning of גַּבְנֻנִּים was not clear to the Peshitta translators, who understood it to be a proper noun: "Gebanyam" (ܓܒܢܡ). The texts of LMSC follow the Peshitta and interpret it as a proper name of a particular range of mountains surrounding Jerusalem. As a result, it appears to have raised some confusion, on their part, as to why the Peshitta discusses so many different types of mountains (presumed to be in close geographical proximity to each other) in Ps 68:16: "the mountain of God" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ), "mountains of Bashan" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ), and the "mountains of Gebanyam" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܡ). They sort out this problem by suggesting that the "mountains of Bashan" and the "mountains of Gebanyam" represent the Gentile peoples—specifically the descendants of Og (ܥܘܓ)—who live on them and who are hostile to Mount Zion and the Israelites, who have recently settled there.[292]

Turning to Ps 68:17, the texts of LMSC suggest that "you want" is used as a synonym for "your envy" (ܣܡܬܚܙܐ), as if the personified "mountains of Gebanyam" desire to live on "the mountain of God," where God's people have settled.[293]

Similar to the discussion of Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion, it is likely that Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion was once longer and only the final portion of it is preserved in LMSC.[294] This Aḥob scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC, because it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's interpretation of Ps 68:16–17.

290 For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

291 For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Greek reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3. Greek Readings.

292 Aside from minor spelling and word choice differences, P, ff. 136r, *19*–136v, *5* and P^2, ff. 25r, *21*–25v, *9* preserve the same commentary on Ps 68:16–17.

293 The Peshitta does not preserve any significant variations related to the phrases ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܡ or ܛܘܪ ܓܒܢܝܢ ܕܣܡܬ in Ps 68:16–17. There are also no recorded variants for the equivalent MT הַר גַּבְנֻנִּים הַר־בָּשָׁן or לָמָּה תִרְצָדוּן or the LXX ὄρος πῖον, ὄρος τετυρωμένον or ἵνα τί ὑπολαμβάνετε.

294 See Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.14. Psalm 68:14.

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3.4.16 *Psalm 104:2–3*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 104:2–3 states:

ܠܒܫ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܣܐܪܐ [2]	[2] He was clothed (in) light as (with)
ܠܒܫ ܟܣܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܟܐ. ܡܫܬܚ ܫܡܝܐ	a cloak; he stretched out heaven like
ܟܪܝܥ ܕܒܝܬ [3]. ܡܫܟܢ	a curtain. [3] On the waters he constructed
ܒܝܬ ܠ ܡܫܟܢ ,ܥܠܝܗ ܒܐ	his habitations,[295] and upon the clouds he placed
ܠ ܡܪܟܒܬܗ. ܡܗܠܟ ܠ	his chariot and he walks upon
ܟܢܦܝ ܪܘܚܐ.	the wings of the wind.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[296]

> [2] You *were clothed* (with) intangible *light*, *as* (*with*) *a cloak*, that is to say, a garment, instead of the glorious purple garments and magnificent vestments with which earthly kings are adorned. You *stretched out the heavens like a tent* (ܡܫܟܢ) of hair (ܥܙܐ), from *in the beginning*[297] with great easiness in the sudden twinkling of an eye. *Tent* in the Arabic language (is) *šiqqa* (ܫܩܥ, an oblong piece of cloth from which a tent is made).[298] [3] *On the waters* (ܡܝܬ) which are above the firmament (ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܫܡܝܐ) *he constructed his habitations*[299] (ܒܝܬ ... ,ܥܠܝܗ ܒܐ), which is that highest heaven (ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܫܡܝܐ). *And he set his chariot upon the clouds*, and he moves them[300] and directs (them)[301] *and he walks upon the wings of the wind*, and he changes them in accordance with our need. *Wings*,[302] that is to say, wings.[303] In the Arabic language, *ajniḥa wa-aktāf*[304] which (are) under it.[305]

295 The plural noun + 3ms suffix ,ܡܫܟܢܗ could also be translated as "his floors."

296 For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 104:2–3.

297 Gen 1:1.

298 The underlying Arabic noun is شُقَّة. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 852 (under the entry ܡܫܟܢܐ) and Edward William Lane and Stanley Lane-Poole, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Book 1, Part 4; Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Book Centre, 1978), 1578 (col. A).

299 Or "his floors."

300 Namely, the clouds.

301 Ezekiel witnessed something similar in his throne-chariot vision. See Ezek 1:4–28.

302 The Syriac of this plural noun is ܟܢܦܐ.

303 The Syriac of this plural noun is ܐܓܦ. The plural noun ܟܢܦܐ was considered archaic to the *DGC* manuscript tradition, so the plural noun (and synonym) ܐܓܦ was included because it has the more particular meaning of "wings" and, thus, clarifies the meaning of ܟܢܦܐ.

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Aḥob's scholion[306] is inserted into LMSC, though it is written in a smaller script and distinguished from the *DGC* texts of LMSC.[307] While only M visually connects it to the feminine singular noun, "curtain," (ܢܓܘܪܬܐ)[308] in v. 2, this scholion is also likely connected (though not via any sigla) to the phrase "on the waters he constructed his habitations" (ܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܥܠܝ̈ܬܗ) in v. 3.[309] In the first part of his scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand the contextual meaning of the Peshitta noun, "curtain." He suggests that it does not refer to "the form of its [i.e. heaven's] setting up" (ܡܫܟܚܐ ܕܣܝܡܘܬܗ); rather, it alludes to "the swiftness [i.e. the speed] of its construction" (ܡܗܝܪܘܬ ܒܢܝܢܗ). He then turns to Isa 40:22, where similar phraseology to Ps 104:2 is used: "he stretched out heaven like a vault" (ܕܡܫܟ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܐܦܐ); however, Aḥob insists that Isaiah was speaking about "that exalted (heaven)" (ܗܘ ... ܕܡ)—where God dwells, whereas David (in Ps 104:2) is speaking about "this visible firmament" (ܗܢܐ

304 Meaning "wings and the shoulders" (ܟܬܦܐ ܘܣܥܪܐ). The underlying Arabic phrase is اجنحة واكتاف.

305 This translation is my own.

306 Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion states, "For, indeed, he says [104:2] (*he stretched out heaven like*) *a curtain*, not (in order) to make known the form of its setting up, but he proclaims the swiftness of its construction. For it is said, concerning that exalted (heaven), that *he stretched out heaven like a vault*, that is to say, like a dome. But he says this concerning (that) which is this visible firmament. (It is) not possible that it would be in the shape of a vault or a tent, on account of the waters which (are) above its highest ridge. [3] *On the waters he constructed his habitations*, not of that exalted heaven since that is the roof of the firmament, that which is like the earth (in relation) to the waters which (are) above it. He calls them 'habitations,' as also the structures which (are) above the earth (are) the habitations of the firmament, since the whole of its own roof is the floor of the house which (is) under it. But that exalted heaven (is) much greater than this, and (it is like) the shape of a canopy (which) surrounded all creation. But this (visible firmament, which is) in a round shape, (is) circular in the middle and is level from every place, so that the waters, which are above, should not slip away or fall down from its highest ridge. An example to consider, which (is) like this, (is found) in the sanctuary of churches, which in the shape of the exalted heaven rises (over) the whole (church). And under its own dome a level roof rises and does not form a dome which is the ceiling for the floor (of the sanctuary)." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

307 In L, it is contained within red frames on f. 128r, *4–26*. In M, it is contained within red frames on f. 126r, *6–25* and f. 126v, *6–7*. In S, it is contained within red frames on f. 235r, *13–21* and, in this space, encompasses 12 short lines. In C, it is contained within red frames on f. 113v, *12–20* and, in this space, encompasses 16 short lines.

308 The Peshitta does not preserve any variants related to ܢܓܘܪܬܐ. There are also no recorded variants for the equivalent MT יְרִיעָה and the LXX δέρρις.

309 L marks ܢܓܘܪܬܐ with a red dot above it; M marks this word with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word. SC do not mark this word. The equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion is equally marked in M but unmarked in LSC.

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ܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܐ), i.e. the firmament which can be seen by people. In other words, Aḥob views the Peshitta noun, curtain, as being synonymous with this visible firmament. He continues his discussion of curtain by insinuating that it cannot refer to that exalted heaven, because that exalted heaven is "in the shape of a vault or a tent" (ܕܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܬܩܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܘ ܟܘܒܐ) and so the waters on which God's habitations rest—those "which (are) above its [i.e. this visible firmament's] highest ridge" (ܕܥܠ ܪܝܫ ܓܒܝܗ)—would run down below it.[310]

Having only alluded to v. 3, he then turns to an open discussion of the v. 3 phrase "on the waters he constructed his habitations." His interest in this phrase lies primarily in understanding the contextual meaning of the plural noun, "habitations" (ܡܫܟܢܬܐ). Aḥob suggests that these habitations were not made from "that exalted heaven since that is the roof of the firmament" (ܕܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܪܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܣܟܟܐ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ). He qualifies this statement with a further description of the firmament: its relation to that exalted heaven "is like the earth (in relation) to the waters [i.e. the firmament] which (are) above it" (ܕܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܕܠܥܠ ,ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܪܥܐ). The use of ܐܪܥܐ here seems to have a dual sense of "earth" and "floor" as its meaning. In order to understand David's use of "habitations" in v. 3, Aḥob makes another comparison of the earth with the firmament above it: "the structures which (are) above the earth (are) the habitations of the firmament" (ܕܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ,ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܢܝܢ). He describes the habitations of the firmament further: "the whole of its own roof is the floor of the house which (is) under it" (ܕܡܬܚܬ ,ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܓܓ ܗܘ ܣܟܟܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܬܚܘܬ). Aḥob seems to be suggesting that these habitations of the firmament functioned simultaneously as both a ceiling and a floor. He continues by insisting that "that exalted heaven (is) much greater than this" (ܕܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܪܡ ... ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܕܐ), the latter of which presumably refers back to "the habitations of the firmament." Aḥob describes "that exalted heaven" (ܫܡܝܐ ܕܪܡ ܗܘ)[311] as a "canopy" (ܣܘܟܐ)[312] "(which) surrounded all creation" (ܕܚܘܪ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ). He contrasts this with the visible firmament, "(which is) in a round shape, (is) circular in the middle,[313] and is level from every place [i.e. flat], so that the waters, which are above, should not slip away or fall down

310 For a discussion of Aḥob's cosmology and its sources, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.2.2. Cosmology.

311 In v. 3 of his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, Aḥob writes the phrase "that exalted heaven" as ܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܪܡ ܗܘ and ܗܘ ܕܪܡ ܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ.

312 For a further discussion of this noun, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.7. A Rare Word of Uncertain Etymology.

313 It is unclear what Aḥob means by "circular in the middle" (ܟܐܦܐ ܒܡܨܥܬܐ ܟܐܦܐ).

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from its highest ridge" (ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܪܡܐ ܕܫܘܚܠܦ ܚܠܡ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܘܡܙܠ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܢ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܪܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܢܚܙܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܪܝ. ܚܠ ܕܝܘ). Aḥob concludes his cosmological discussion with comparisons to three architectural features in "the sanctuary of churches" (ܩܕܫܐ ܕܥܕ̈ܬܐ), which almost certainly refers to the apse. He invokes these connections likely because he seeks to solidify the meanings of his abstract concepts with recognizable, visual representations: just as that exalted heaven is above this visible firmament,[314] so the "dome" (ܟܘܟܒܐ) of the sanctuary "rises (over) the whole (church)" (ܡܢܗ ܣܠܩ ܟܠܗ). In other words, the uppermost part of the sanctuary's vaulted ceiling corresponds to that exalted heaven. Furthermore, just as God made this visible firmament in a level manner, so inside the sanctuary "a level roof rises and does not form a dome which is the ceiling for the floor (of the sanctuary)" (ܟܝܢܐ ܕܟܘܟܒ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܦܝܐ ܕܡܬܚ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܫܠܝܐ ܕܪܡܐ). Here, Aḥob is likely referencing the flat roof of the altar baldachin,[315] which corresponds to this visible firmament.[316] Finally, just as "the floor (of the sanctuary)" (ܫܝܢ) is under the altar baldachin, so the earth is beneath this visible firmament. In other words, the floor of the sanctuary corresponds to the earth.

The texts of LMSC also seek to better understand the meaning of ܟܘܟܒ in the context of v. 2 and the implications of the phrase "on the waters he constructed his habitations" (ܕܥܠ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܒܢܐ ܡܫܟ̈ܢܗ). In v. 2, they render ܟܘܟܒ as "tent" and describe it as being made of "hair" (ܥܙܐ), which is likely a reference to camel or goat hair, like that which is employed to make the famous black tents in Iraq and Turkey.[317] They also equate "tent" with the Garshuni gloss ܡܚܒܐ, meaning "an oblong piece of cloth from which a tent is made." Furthermore, they elaborate on the speed of the creation of this "tent," which occurred "from *in the beginning* with great easiness in the sudden twinkling of the eye" (ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܪܡܐ ܕܫܘܚܠܦ ܚܠܡ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܘܡܙܠ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܢ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܪܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܢܚܙܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܪܝ. ܚܠ ܕܝܘ). In v. 3, they simply equate "on the waters" with those waters "which are above the firmament" (ܕܥܠ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܢ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܪܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ) and "he constructed his habitations" with "that highest heaven" (ܒܢܐ ܡܫܟ̈ܢܗ ܗܘ).

314 This is alluded to in v. 2 of his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion.

315 For a photographic example of the type of altar baldachin that Aḥob describes, see Hans Hollerweger, *TURABDIN: Lebendiges Kulturerbe / Living Cultural Heritage / Canli Kültür Mirasi* (Linz, Austria: Freunde des Turabdin, 1999), 222.

316 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.2.3. Church Architecture.

317 See, for instance, William Lancaster and Fidelity Lancaster, *People, Land and Water in the Arab Middle East: Environments and Landscapes in the Bilâd ash-Shâm* (The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 240–241.

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Considering these things, Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion is included in LMSC, likely because it offers a slightly nuanced understanding of the Peshitta noun, "curtain," and phrase, "on the waters he constructed his habitations," and, thus, it functions as a corrective for vv. 2–3 in the *DGC* manuscript tradition.[318] Furthermore, and somewhat comparable to his Psalm 39:4–6, Psalm 42:2, and Psalm 58:4 scholia, Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion is likely inserted within the texts of LMSC (though markedly offset by red frames and in a smaller script), because it was viewed as being too large a scholion to write in the margin. In this way, it was placed within the texts of LMSC for technical, rather than ideological, reasons.

In contrast to other Aḥob scholia, a diagrammatic illustration of Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion is included in LMSC:[319]

ܗܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܩܕܡܝܟ ܗܝ ܕܡܬ̈ܐ׃	Behold! The image which (is) before you.
ܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡ̈ܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܝ ܗܝ ܕܝܬ	This is the exalted heaven which (is) great
ܘܫܦ̈ܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܡܣܒ̈ܒ	and broad and circles the whole of creation
ܘܒܗ ܐܬ ܗܝ ܕܒ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܩܒܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ	and (creation) is within it, in the likeness of a
❖ ܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܓܠܓܠܐ ׃	canopy, that is to say, a wheel.
ܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡ̈ܐ ܕܫܡ̈ܝ ׃	This (is) the highest heaven of heavens.
ܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܥܠ ܡ̈ܝ ܗܝ ׃	This is the firmament over which (are) the
׃	waters.
ܘܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܕܬܚܬ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܫܡ̈ܝ ׃	And this, which (is) under the firmament, (is)
׃	the region of the stars.
׃ ܘܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܕܥ̈ܢܢܐ ܘܥ̈ܪ̈ܦܠ̈ܐ ܘܪ̈ܘ̈ܚ̈ܐ	And this (is the region) of the clouds and mists
	and winds.
ܘܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ ׃	And this is the earth above which (is) every-
׃	thing.[320]

318 Aside from minor variants, P, f. 196r, *14–22* and P[2], ff. 88r, *21*–88v, *6* preserve the same commentary on Ps 104:2–3 as LMSC.

319 The following images (in the order of LMSC) are taken from the Christian Middle East collection, British Library; the Mingana Collection of Middle Eastern Manuscripts, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham; les manuscrits orientaux, Collections patrimoniales, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg; the Jenks collection of Syriac manuscripts, Cambridge University Library. Each image is reproduced with permission from its respective library. The edition and translation, which precedes these images, is based on L, f. 128v.

320 The colored blobs in L, f. 128v, M, f. 126v, and C, f. 113v are likely the mountains of the earth.

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S, f. 236r

L, f. 128v

C, f. 113v

M, f. 126v

The simplest explanation for the inclusion of the above illustrations in LMSC is that they offer a visual aid to understanding the theoretical arguments which Aḥob presents in his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion. While these illustrations are unique, they have comparable features with similar illustrations produced by the Greek merchant Cosmos Indicopleustes in the 6th century.[321] For this

321 See, for instance, Maja Kominko, *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 242–245.

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reason, one could argue that Aḥob himself authored the original version of these illustrations.[322] There are three pieces of evidence that support this proposal: 1) these particular illustrations are only found in late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts, which is also when Aḥob's exegetical works were added; P and P^2 do not contain these illustrations; 2) the usage of the noun ܨܘܪܬܐ is only attested in Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion and these illustrations; 3) the fact that these illustrations have features which are comparable to some of Indicopleustes' illustrations suggests an early date. Although these pieces of evidence are persuasive, they do not conclusively prove that Aḥob authored the original version of these illustrations. For instance, a later scribe (prior to the production of late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts) could have modeled his exemplar of these illustrations on Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, with an awareness to earlier (now lost) illustrations—the same ones upon which Indicopleustes may have also drawn,[323] meaning he could make his design of these illustrations' exemplar look early. Furthermore, this same scribe could have used Aḥob's noun ܨܘܪܬܐ in his exemplar of these illustrations to ensure that his readers connected it to Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion. While the evidence for a later, unknown scribe being the author of the original version of these illustrations is noteworthy, it is arguably less compelling than the evidence in favor of Aḥob being its author. Therefore, unless new evidence can be found to suggest otherwise, one should likely credit the original version of these illustrations to Aḥob.[324]

322 The West Syriac writer, Mushe bar Kipho (d. 903), also produced cosmological drawings of the world in his writings, though these are less sophisticated than Aḥob's illustration. They remain unpublished. For cosmological drawings that are influenced (in part) by Bar Kipho, see J.-B. Chabot, "Notice sur une mappemonde syrienne du XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* (1897): 98–112.

323 Cf. Kominko, *The World of Kosmas*, 13–17.

324 There are three levels of these diagrammatic illustrations which Aḥob does not discuss. These include "the highest heaven of heavens" (ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ), "the region of the stars" (ܐܣܛܪܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ), and "(the region) of the clouds and mists and winds" (ܥܢܢܐ ܘܥܪܦܠܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ). It is possible that he examined these levels in the earliest form of this scholion, but later scribes chose not to preserve his explanation of them. For a further discussion of the original form of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

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3.4.17 *Psalm 105:17–19*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 105:17–19 states:

[17] ܫܕܪ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܫ.	[17] He sent a man before them;
ܠܝܘܣܦ ܕܐܬܙܒܢ ܠܥܒܘܕܐ.	Joseph, (who) was sold into slavery.
[18] ܥܢܘ ܒܟܒܠܐ ܪܓܠܘܗܝ ܒܩܝܛܪ̈ܐ ܥܠ̈ܠ.	[18] They bound his feet with shackles,
ܒܦܪ̈ܙܠ ܥܒܪ ܢܦܫܗ.	and in irons his soul entered
[19] ܥܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܠܬܗ ܫܪܝ.	[19] until his word was loosed.
ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܩܢܗ.	The word of the Lord examined him.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[325]

> [17] *He sent a man*, Joseph, *before them* for the safeguard of their lives. *Joseph was sold into slavery* by his brothers,[326] that by him they would be delivered from the famine (ܕܡܢ ܒܗ ܢܬܦܪܩܘܢ ܡ̈ܢ ܟܦܢܐ).[327] [18] *They bound* (ܥܢܘ) *his feet with shackles* (ܒܟܒܠܐ) in the prison.[328] He calls the "*shackles*" bonds. *And in* these *irons* and by means of them *his soul entered* into distress[329] [19] *until* (ܥܕ) the *word* of God *was loosed* on account of him.[330] *The word* (ܡܠܬܐ) *of the Lord examined him* that it might be seen that he is esteemed worthy of honor (ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܕܫܪܝ ܗܘ ܒܩܢܐ).[331]

Somewhat interestingly, Aḥob's marginal scholion[332] is visually connected to the first word in v. 19—"until" (ܥܕ)—even though he never uses this word in his scholion.[333] In his scholion, Aḥob elaborates on the reason undergirding

325 For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 105:17–19.

326 Cf. Gen 37:28.

327 Cf. Gen 41:57; 42:6.

328 Cf. Gen 39:20.

329 Cf. Gen 40:14–15.

330 Cf. Gen 41:10–13.

331 This translation is my own.

332 Aḥob's Psalm 105:17–19 scholion states, "For (it is) not due to (Joseph's) evil (that) God punished him and turned away from him that he might be [105:17] *sold*, [18] *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles*. But [19] *the word of the Lord examined him*. But he says *his word* with regard to his purpose concerning him." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

333 LMC mark ܥܕ with a red dot over it; S does not mark this word in the *DGC*. No related word in Aḥob's scholion is marked in LMSC.

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God's punishing of Joseph, who is first introduced in v. 17 of Ps 105. He suggests that it was "not due to (Joseph's) evil (that) God punished him" (ܠܐ ܒܝܫ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܪ̈ܥ ܐܠܗܐ). Furthermore, Joseph was not sold into slavery because God "turned away from him" (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ). Rather, Aḥob insists that even though Joseph "would be *bound* in slavery … *the word of the Lord examined him*" (ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܗ ... ܐܣܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܒܘܕܬܐ). He concludes by clarifying the meaning of the Peshitta term "his word" (ܡܠܬܗ): this is spoken in reference to God's "purpose" (ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ) for Joseph.[334] While it is clear that Aḥob wishes to establish that God did not needlessly punish Joseph, it is less clear why he clarifies what "his word" means in this verse, though it is possible that Aḥob was intentionally ruling out any possible Christological interpretation of "his word" in this verse, i.e. viewing it as a theological synonym of "the Logos" (ܠܘܓܘܣ), the latter of which (in connection with God) is a common interpretation among West Syriac writers.[335]

The texts of LMSC are also interested in why God tested Joseph to such a degree, as is stated in Ps 105:17–19. The *DGC* manuscript tradition offers two reasons for God's treatment of Joseph, in regards to slavery: 1) "by him they [Joseph's brothers] would be delivered from the famine" (ܕܒܗ ܢܬܦܪܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܟܦܢܐ) and 2) "it might be seen that he [Joseph] is esteemed worthy of honor" (ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܗܘܐ). While the texts of LMSC agree with and largely preserve the same content as the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition on these three verses,[336] Aḥob's Psalm 105:17–19 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC, because it functions as a corrective to the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition's understanding of Ps 105:17–19, specifically why God tested Joseph in such a manner.

334 There are no variants for ܡܠܬܗ in the Peshitta, as well as its equivalent word אִמְרָה in the MT and λόγιον in the LXX.

335 See, for instance, Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde (ed.), *Three Letters of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbôgh (485–519): Being the Letter to the Monks, the First Letter to the Monks of Beth-Gaugal, and the Letter to Emperor Zeno* (Facultas Philosophiae 2; Roma: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1902), 132, *4* (text), 96 (trans.) and David G. K. Taylor (ed.), *The Great Psalm Commentary of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ* (in preparation for CSCO), specifically the commentary on Psalm 1. Daniel flourished in the mid-6th century.

336 LMS change ܒܚܗ (as found in P) to ܒܗ, and they preserve ܡܚܠܠܗ (as found in P), ignoring its corrupted spelling, ܡܚܠܠܗ, in P². See P, f. 200v, *16*, *18* and P², f. 93r, *1*, *3*.

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3.4.18 *Psalm 110 Prologue*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:1 states:

ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܪܝ	The Lord said to my Lord,
ܬܘܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ ܥܕ ܐܫܝܬ	"Sit at my right hand,
ܒܥܕ ܕܐܫܝܡ ܒܥܠܝ ܠܟ	until I should set your enemies
ܗܕܘܡ ܠܪܓܠܝܟ	(as) a footstool for your feet."

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[337]

> *The Lord*, the Father, *said to my Lord*, who is Christ in the flesh, "*Sit at my right hand*, in the power and in the honor of the kingdom, *until I should set your enemies*, the ones who are standing against you—whether demons or evil people (ܒܝܫܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܘ ܫܐܕܐ)—because of the inclination[338] and the error in this age, (*as*) *a footstool for your feet.*"[339]

Unlike all of his other scholia, this Aḥob scholion[340] is inserted into the texts of VLMSC, immediately following the Ps 110 heading.[341] It is written in the same

337 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 110:1.

338 The noun, here, is spelled ܝܨܪܗܪܥܐ. For a further study of the related noun, "inclination" (ܝܨܪ), see Adam H. Becker, "The 'Evil Inclination' of the Jews: The Syriac Yatsra in Narsai's Metrical Homilies for Lent," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 106:2 (2016): 179–207 and David G. K. Taylor, "'Inclination' (*yaṣrā*) in the Syriac Tradition," in James Aitken, Hector M. Patmore, and Ishay Rosen-Zvi (eds.), *The Evil Inclination in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 262–279.

339 This translation is my own.

340 Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion states, "When he proclaims in it the honor which came to pass for humanity, he also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word, and the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews, and concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands, and the honor that will be given to the saints. But the stupid Jews take it as (being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca, that (is) as if these words were spoken by him. But they are refuted by the beginning of the psalm, in that it is confessed by them that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*, whenever (a person) wants to call God by the name *my Lord* or *the Lord*, just as here (in this psalm) they also tell (the ones) who know (the name), *the Lord*, that by (these four) letters these names are written (as) *the Lord* and (as) that of *my Lord*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

341 V marks the end of this Aḥob scholion with ❖; LC mark its conclusion with ❖ ❖ ❖. M

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size script as the surrounding texts of VLMSC, and its placement (though not via any sigla) makes it visually connected to Ps 110:1.[342] In his scholion, Aḥob boldly states that Ps 110 is meant to be understood as a Messianic psalm. He establishes this fact by summarizing five aspects of Ps 110:

1) "he [David] proclaims in it the honor which came to pass for humanity" (ܫܒܚܐܠ ܫܘܡ ܫܒܚ ܡܢ ܒܗ)
2) "he also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word" (ܫܒܚ ܫܠܫ ܫܒܚܘܒ ܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܥܡ ܒܗ)
3) "(he indicates concerning) the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews" (ܫܒܚ ;ܡ ܫܒܫ ܡܒܐܠ ܫܒܝܒ ܒܗ)
4) "(he indicates) concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands" (ܠ ܫܒ ܫ ܫܒ ,ܡܐ)
5) "(he indicates) the honor that will be given to the saints" (ܫܒ ܫܒ).

He contrasts his interpretation of Ps 110 with that of "the stupid Jews" (ܫ ...), who (according to Aḥob) believe this psalm was "(being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca" (ܒ). While he does not state it outright, he presumably concludes that Ps 110 (according to Jewish exegesis) speaks about either Isaac or Rebecca. Aḥob refutes this theological position by alluding to the "four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them" ( ). While he does not specifically state it, this is arguably a reference to the tetragrammaton (i.e. YHWH). Aḥob knows that YHWH is traditionally understood to mean "the LORD" but is read as "Adonai," meaning "my Lord." In other words, "the LORD" and "my Lord" are one word from Aḥob's perspective, since both names are "equally written" ( ) with the same four letters, namely YHWH. Just as the Jews can use the letters YHWH to refer to God as "the LORD" and "my Lord" at any time, Aḥob argues that "(these four) letters" (ܫܒܚܐ) also encapsulate the equivalent titles in Peshitta Ps 110:1, namely "the Lord" (ܫ) and "my Lord" (ܫ ,).[343] In this way, Aḥob insists that "the

marks the end of this Aḥob scholion with a red line that stretches the width of the page; S does not mark the end of this Aḥob scholion.

342 In V, Aḥob's scholion encompasses pp. 46, *11*–47, *5*. In L, it is found on ff. 140r, *21*–140v, *6*; in M, it is preserved on ff. 138r, *28*–138v, *13*. In S, it is found on f. 256r, *9*–*18*; in C, it is preserved on ff. 123r, *26*–123v, *9*.

343 There are no recorded variants for ܫ and ܫ in the Peshitta, as well as the equivalent words יְהוָה and אֲדֹנָי in the MT.

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Lord" and "my Lord" do not refer to any particular Old Testament individuals (whether a patriarch or his to-be wife); rather, these titles refer to Christ,[344] and, as a result, the Jews' non-Messianic approach to understanding Ps 110 cannot be sustained.

The texts of VLMSC also understand Ps 110 to be a Messianic psalm, as is emphasized by the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition.[345] However, since the *DGC* manuscript tradition does not have an introduction to Ps 110, this Aḥob scholion is likely inserted into the texts of VLMSC—directly after the Ps 110 heading—for four reasons: 1) it offers an introductory note on Ps 110 as a whole; 2) it describes the Messianic themes of Ps 110 and quotes select words from Ps 110:1; 3) it refutes a particular understanding of Ps 110, which was endorsed by specific enemies of Christ, namely the "Jews" (ܝܗܘܕ), who had only been generally mentioned in somewhat vague terms in the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition of Ps 110:1;[346] 4) it was easier to copy this lengthy scholion into the texts of VLMSC, rather than into the margin, implying that the manner of its inclusion in the texts of VLMSC is technical, rather than ideological, in nature.

3.4.19 *Psalm 110:3*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:3 states:

ܥܡܟ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܫܦܝܪܝܢ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܝܠܟ.	Your people will be glorious on the day of power,
ܒܗܪܘܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܫܚܪ ܠܟ ܛܠܝܘܬܐ.	in the splendors of holiness from the womb.
ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܠܕ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܝܠܐ.	From the first, I begot you, a child.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[347]

> *Your people will be glorious*, for they have faith in you; *on the day of power* you will make them glorious *through the splendors of* the *holiness* of the Godhead. *From the womb* of baptism this glorious people will be raised up for you. Or, thus, *in the splendors of holiness from the womb*, that is

344 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.5. The Christology of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

345 See P, f. 213v, *10–11*, *16–20* and P^2, f. 107v, *10–12*, *17–20*.

346 See P, f. 213v, *14* and P^2, f. 107v, *14–15*, which refer to Christ's enemies as "demons or evil people" (ܫܕܝܐ ܒܝܫܐ ... ܐ ܝܗܘܕ) in Ps 110:1.

347 For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 110:3.

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to say, from your fashioning, you will be seen (to) be splendid and holy, and then he[348] cites in the persona of the Father, and he says, *"From the first* (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ), *I begot you* (ܝܠܕܬܟ), *a child* (ܛܠܝܐ), from everlasting and from eternity (ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ)." But he[349] called him[350] a "*child*" in order that he might make known that he is a son who will not change like an infant amongst us (ܗܘ ܕܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܛܠܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܚܠܦ ܐܦ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܟܕ ܛܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ ܟܕ ܛܠܝܐ ܒܝܢ ܐܢܫ).[351]

Aḥob's scholion[352] is visually connected to the word "first" (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ) in Ps 110:3.[353] In his scholion, Aḥob begins by extoling the eternality of Christ in four descriptive phrases:

1) he is "from everlasting and from eternity" (ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ)
2) he is "from the nature of the Father" (ܡܢ ܟܝܢܐ ... ܕܐܒܐ)
3) "he is eternally begotten before creatures" (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܥܠܡ)
4) he "(is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time)" (ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܘܫܥܐ).

Aḥob then turns to a Greek reading of part of this verse: "From the womb and before the morning star I begot you" (ܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ܝܠܕܬܟ).[354] Without discussing this Greek reading's significance (to any de-

348 Namely, David.
349 Namely, David.
350 Namely, Christ.
351 This translation is my own.
352 Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion states, "The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time). But the Greek says, 'From the womb and before the morning star I begot you.' He called him a '*child*' in order to show that he does not age or change from his being a Son, as we (do)." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.
353 In V, this Aḥob scholion is presented in a footnote, implying that V's exemplar preserved it as a marginal note. Aside from the footnote number, it is not marked with any reference marker in the text of the DGC. LSC present this Aḥob scholion in the margin. LC mark the DGC ܛܠܝܐ and ܡܢ ܩܕܡ, respectively, with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above each word; S does not mark any word in the text of the DGC in connection with this Aḥob scholion. M presents this Aḥob scholion within the text of the DGC on f. 139r, *3–7*, albeit within red frames and in a slightly smaller script; no word in the text of the DGC is marked in connection with this Aḥob scholion. VLMSC do not mark any word in this Aḥob scholion.
354 The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 109:3, is ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε. While there are variants recorded for Ps 110:3 in the Peshitta and its equivalent verse in the LXX, (for the purposes of this study) none of these likely influenced Aḥob's interpretation

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gree), he continues by focusing on the masculine singular noun "child" (ܛܠܝܐ) in the Peshitta. Aḥob insists that David refers to Christ as a child "in order to show that he does not age or change from his being a Son, as we (do)" (ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ). In other words, David's use of "child" indicates Christ's divine eternality. Aḥob's opening and closing phrases arguably contrast Christ's divinity with peoples' humanity: Christ is "from everlasting and from eternity" and, thus, "he does not age or change from his being a Son"; people (in their humanity), on the other hand, have aged and have changed.

The texts of VLMSC are also interested in better understanding the Christological implications of the phrase "from the first, I begot you" (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܠܕܬܟ ...) in Ps 110:3. They emphasize their interpretation of its meaning by using the same phraseology that Aḥob uses to begin his extant Psalm 110:3 scholion, namely, "from everlasting and from eternity." The texts of VLMSC then draw out the meaning of "from the first, I begot you" by highlighting the importance of the Peshitta noun "child": "But he called him a '*child*' in order that he might make known that he is a son who will not change like an infant amongst us (ܐܠܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܛܠܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܫܚܠܦ ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܝܢ ܥܘܠܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ)." They insist on the usage of child, rather than "infant" (ܥܘܠܠܐ), likely because they do not want to imply that Christ was somehow literally born (in a human sense) from the Father. Thus, Christ (though begotten as a child) is eternal, which rules out any nuances for him being created. In this way, he is distinct from humanity in that he was never an infant and he will not change.

Somewhat similar to the discussions of his Psalm 68:14 and Psalm 68:16–17 scholia, it is likely that Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion was once longer. Since its extant form begins with the abrupt phrase "from everlasting and from eternity," one can reasonably assume that the original beginning of this scholion has been removed. Due to the fact that Aḥob quotes the equivalent Greek phrase "from the womb and before the morning star" as a comparison, it is almost certain that his scholion originally began with the Peshitta phrase "From the first, I begot you, a child" (ܝܠܕܬܟ ܛܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ), though it is unclear if (following this Peshitta phrase) there is any Aḥobian commentary that has also been removed. It is likely that the beginning of this Aḥob scholion had already been abbreviated (intentionally or carelessly by (a) scribe(s)) prior to it being included in VLMSC.

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of this verse. For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Greek reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3. Greek Readings.

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While the texts of VLMSC offer a few interpretations on the meaning of "child" in Ps 110:3, they do not explain the meaning of "I begot you" to the same degree. Thus, a portion of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion[355] is likely included in VLMSC for two reasons: 1) it offers a terse explanation of "I begot you," and 2) it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's understanding of this verse.

It is also worth noting that the only significant (and lengthy) variant found in an Aḥob scholion is preserved in S at this point. The wording is that of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, as found in VLMC; however, it is presented in a noticeably reworked manner. For instance, rather than Christ being "the Son … and he is eternally begotten before creatures" (ܟܕ ܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܒܠܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ.ܟܕ), S states that he is "the Son … creatures" (ܟܕ ܒܪܐ ܟܕ). Or, again, in VLMC, the ending of this Aḥob scholion states, "he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do)" (ܡܫܚܝܬ ܕܐ ܚܠܦܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܦ ܕܟܝ ܠ ܒܪܘܬܗ ܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ ܢܚ). But the ending of this scholion in S states, "he does not age and is (not) changed from his being a Son and (being) eternally begotten before the morning star like us" (ܕܐ ܒܠܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܡܫܚܝܬ ܕܐ ܚܠܦܬܐ ܐܦ ܠ ܒܪܘܬܗ ܘܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ ܟܘܟܒ ܨܦܪ ܕܨܒܚ ܒܪ). Since such a pronounced variant only occurs in S, one must ask why it deviates so far from the corresponding Aḥob scholion, as preserved in VLMC. In considering this, it is likely that this variant is the result of a mechanical error on the part of Augustinus, the scribe of S. For instance, if the Syriac text of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, as presented in S, were given the line numbers of the corresponding Aḥob Psalm 110:3 scholion (as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6.), it would appear as follows:

ܟܕ ܒܪܐ ܐܦ ܡܫܚ ܕܡܐ : ܩܕ ܕܡܐ ܒܪ ܒܛܢ (lines 1–2)
ܕܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܟ ܐܟܝ ܢܝ ܐܘܡ ܡܥܒܕ ܢܝܚ ܠ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܟܕ ܒܪܐ (lines 3–6)
ܡܫܚܝܬ ܕܐ ܚܠܦܬܐ ܒܪܘܬܗ ܠ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܘܣ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ (lines 7–9)
ܒܪ ܕܐ ܒܠܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ (lines 2–3)
ܟܘܟܒ ܨܦܪ (line 6)
ܐ ܢܚ (line 10)

355 While it is unclear what may have immediately preceded the extant text of this scholion in its originality, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.9. Psalm 45 Prologue for a discussion surrounding its likely original ending.

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One can clearly see that Augustinus skipped over parts of lines (through line 9) and then returned to lines 2–3 again, where he then skipped to line 6 and then concluded with the final word, which is on line 10. What would cause such a significant transcriptional error? It is likely that in Augustinus' exemplar, this Aḥob scholion was written on two sides of a marginal lacuna in the text.[356] If the above Syriac text were reordered (according to its original presentation, as presented in Chapter 2) and placed on two sides of a marginal lacuna in the text, it would appear as follows:

(Left Column)		(Right Column)
ܒܪܡ ܡܢ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܪܡ ܕܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܚܕ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܫܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ	(Marginal lacuna in the text)	ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܫܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ ܥܕ ܕܐܫܝܡ ܐܝܒܝܟ ܗܕܘܡ ܪܓܠܝܟ ܀ ܒܪܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܚܕ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܫܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ ܥܕ ܕܐܫܝܡ ܐܝܒܝܟ ܗܕܘܡ ܪܓܠܝܟ ܀

Augustinus likely recognized that Aḥob's scholion encompassed both the right and the left columns, probably because it appeared to be written by the same hand. Thus, he did not confuse Aḥob's scholion as two distinct scholia. However, since there was likely no visible link connecting ܕܐܡܪ to ܡܪܝܐ, Augustinus mistakenly read this Aḥob scholion going down the right column and then continuing to the top of the left column, rather than reading across the marginal lacuna in the text. Furthermore, in the left column, he omitted the second ܒܪܡ (on line 2), probably on the assumption that it was an earlier scribal error (i.e. dittography) which needed to be corrected; his incorrect transcription of ܕܫܟܚ ܠܗ as ܕܫܟܚ in the right column (on line 3) is likely the result of haplography, due to the fact that two words earlier (in Aḥob's scholion) a ܠ is used. Such an approach would explain how Augustinus produced such a reworked version of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion.[357]

356 It is possible that Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion was written around an earlier non-Aḥobian marginal note in Augustinus' exemplar. However, since Augustinus does not preserve any other marginalia for his commentary on Ps 110, he was either uninterested in this marginal note or it evidences the fact that there was no other marginal note (aside from Aḥob's) connected to this psalm in his exemplar.

357 Augustinus makes a similar mechanical error in his transcription of the Leviathan excerpt in Ps 104. See S, ff. 237v^{mg}–238r^{mg}.

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Further to this point, it should be emphasized that S's preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion (in its reworked form) cannot represent a slightly altered recension of Aḥob's original Psalm 110:3 scholion—resulting from careless scribal transmission—for three reasons: 1) this Aḥob scholion was likely not added to the *DGC* until 1875 (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20),[358] and it is implausible that so many errors could have crept in to this particular scholion in twenty-three years,[359] especially if one considers both the length of time it could take a scribe to produce a copy of the *DGC*[360] and the pronounced care with which Aḥob's other Psalm scholia are preserved in S, as well as in VLMC; 2) scribal errors in this scholion cannot be known or examined before 1895, which is the date of L, the oldest extant *DGC* manuscript to preserve this Aḥob scholion; 3) somewhat related to number 2, if such scribal errors occurred prior to being added to the *DGC*, there is no way of knowing why or how this occurred and, thus, it is an argument from silence.

3.5 Conclusion

Due to the fact that Nathniel of Shirzor and Aḥob are situated as contemporaries of each other, the textual relationship between their respective *Cause of Psalms* texts is not readily apparent. A comparison of these two texts reveals that they share five comparable passages, thirteen themes, and seventeen similar and/or identical words and phrases in common. There are also passages which Nathniel and Aḥob do not share in common. The evidence suggests that proposals for a mutual source or Aḥob borrowing from Nathniel are untenable. Rather, it seems most likely that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob, meaning Nathniel preserves the earliest witness to any of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. His general approach in his five comparable passages is to abbreviate and/or rework particular parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, specifically in regards to select adjectives and verbose phraseology. Nathniel's comparable passages largely follow the order of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, though he does reorder one of them. While he likely uses Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, it appears to have been a secondary source for him, whereas Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* functioned as his primary source. Beyond Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*,

358 Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii.

359 S was completed in 1898.

360 For instance, Vandenhoff states that the scribe of his exemplar began copying his manuscript in 1884 and completed it in 1891, a span of seven years. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 4 (Latin).

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it is unclear if Nathniel had access to either Aḥob's Psalms scholia or the originally larger collection of his Old Testament exegetical works.

The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* preserves the earliest witness to Aḥob's two extant Genesis scholia, namely those commenting on Genesis 15:9–10 and Genesis 50:10. In this commentary, Aḥob's scholia are used for two purposes: 1) the primary means by which particular words and phrases of Gen 15:9–10 are explained, and 2) a source for understanding the difficult word (and meaning of) Aṭar in Gen 50:10. While it is unclear if this commentary's unknown author alters Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, he has arguably altered and selected only a portion of Aḥob's original Genesis 50:10 scholion for inclusion. Even though this commentary is lost after Exod 9:32, one can reasonably postulate (given the strong parallels it shares with the later *Anonymous Commentary*)[361] that its unknown author may well have used other Aḥob Old Testament scholia (extant or lost) in this commentary on select subsequent biblical verses.

Bar Koni's *Scholion* (in *Memra* II, 139) preserves the earliest instance of a secondary use of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion in the East Syriac exegetical tradition. His source for this Aḥob scholion is likely the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* or an otherwise unknown (and lost) exegetical collection that would have been quite similar to the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. Bar Koni also relies on a portion of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in his *Memra* V, 17, which has been clearly adapted for the purposes of his *Scholion*. Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 shares twelve themes in common with its parallel text from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, all of which are noticeably more than the themes shared in common with Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, a text which has likely only indirectly influenced Bar Koni via Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. Bar Koni's usage of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion and *Cause of the Psalms* reveals that he had access to, at least, some of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, though it is possible that he also had access to the originally larger collection of his Old Testament exegetical works but only selected a few fragments that interested him for inclusion in his *Scholion*.

The DGC of (V)LMS(C), along with the first of its preceding documents, preserves the largest number of Aḥob's exegetical works on the Psalms, including Aḥob Psalms scholia (specifically) and Aḥob Old Testament scholia (in general), in a commentary on a single biblical book. His *Cause of the Psalms*, along with seven subsequent (non-Aḥobian) documents, is presented as a prelude

361 See Chapter 4, Section 4.2. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Anonymous Commentary*.

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to the *DGC*; its placement as the first of these eight documents suggests that it was viewed as the preferred Psalms introductory treatise. Of the 18 Aḥob scholia contained in the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C), 13 are marginal notes (i.e. Psalm 5:4; 29:9; 31:6; 39:2; 40:8[, 10]; 45 Prologue; 45:9; 48:4; 58:5–6; 68:14, 16–17; 105:17–19; 110:3[362]) and 5 are longer passages (i.e. Psalm 39:4–6; 42:2;[363] 58:4; 104:2–3; 110 Prologue) inserted into the main text, and (with the exception of S's utilization of Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion) each of these 5 longer passages are placed within red/black frames, written perpendicular to or in a smaller script in comparison to the main text, or sectioned off from the surrounding *DGC* text by the use of scribal markers, such as a red line or ❖ ❖ ❖. While Aḥob's Psalm scholia are primarily used as correctives for difficult words and/or phrases in particular verses of the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C), his scholia are also utilized for polemical purposes (i.e. against the Jews) and to expand the *DGC* manuscript tradition in places where it does not include a commentary (i.e. prologues to individual psalms). For the various purposes that they are used, Aḥob's Psalm scholia are visually amplified by being placed in the margin or within red/black frames in the text of the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C), as opposed to being directly included into the main text of the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C) itself. Due to the fact that Aḥob's Psalms scholia were not added to the *DGC* until the late 19th century (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875), it is unclear if the 18 Aḥob scholia that are now extant in the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C) were selected—implying there were others that could have been included but were omitted—or if these represent the entire original collection of Aḥob's Psalms scholia. Either way, it reveals that there was previously unused Aḥob material available within the East Syriac exegetical tradition into the late modern period, suggesting that the entire collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works was likely both quite extensive in its originality and only selectively used by various East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions through the centuries.

362 M inserts this Aḥob scholion into the main text of the *DGC*, albeit within red frames.

363 SC preserve this Aḥob scholion as a marginal note.

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CHAPTER 4

Aḥob of Qatar and the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition (ca. 850–1439/1440)

This chapter is a continuation of Chapter 3 and will continue to analyze Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works (which are largely in the form of scholia) as they have been used and preserved by eight writers and manuscript traditions within the East Syriac exegetical tradition.[1] The examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works[2] in the present chapter will be presented in four sections, which are arranged in the following chronological order:[3]

1) Isho'dad of Merv's (fl. ca. 850) *Commentary on Genesis*, *1Samuel*, and *Psalms*
2) The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century) *on Genesis*, *Numbers*, *1Samuel*, and *Bar Sira*
3) Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th-early 20th centuries)
4) Isaac Shbadnaya's (fl. 1439/1440) prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.

Similar to the sections of Chapter 3, each section in this chapter will have a number of subsections, depending on how many Aḥob fragments the respective writer and/or manuscript tradition used. Aside from discussions pertaining to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*), each subsection will be presented either biblically (according to the order of the books, chapters, and verses of the Peshitta), alphabetically (for Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* only), and/or systematically (for Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary only).

1 The end date of 1439/1440, as stated in the title of this chapter, is when Isaac Shbadnaya flourished.

2 Aḥob's sources will, in large part, be discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

3 This, in part, is the same order presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

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4.1 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Isho'dad of Merv's Old Testament Exegesis

In the following examination of Aḥob's exegetical works in Isho'dad of Merv's Old Testament biblical commentaries,[4] each subsection (with one exception) will contain four parts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) Isho'dad's commentary on the same verse(s), in which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3) a presentation of the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad has either altered or omitted from each Aḥob scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase; 4) the possible reason(s) why and the manner by which Isho'dad included a given Aḥob scholion in his *Commentary on Genesis*, *1Samuel*, and *Psalms* on (a) particular verse(s).[5] The exception to this format will be Subsection 4.1.4., in which Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is discussed.

4.1.1 *Genesis 15:9–10*

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9–10 states:

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܩܚ ܠܝ ܬܠܬ [9]	[9] And he[6] said to him,[7] "Take
ܥܓܠܐ ܬܠܬ ܕܬܪܬ ܥܓܠܐ ܕܬܠܬ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
.ܘܥܙܐ ܕܬܠܬ ܕܬܪ	and a three-year-old goat
.ܘܬܪ ܐܦ ܪܘܓܓܐ ܕܒܪ	and a turtle dove and a young dove."
.ܠܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܒܠ ܗܘ [10]	[10] And he[8] took all these (animals),
ܘܦܠܓ. ܒܡܨܥ ܠܗ ܘܐܦ ܦܠܓ	and he divided them equally and he placed
.ܓܒܪ ܠܡܘܠ ܚܒܪܗ ܩܒܠ	(each) member opposite its fellow.
.ܦܓܪ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܕܛܝܪܐ	But he did not divide the birds.

4 The critical editions used in this section are the following: Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text); Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.); Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text); Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text); idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.); Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text); idem, *Psaumes* (trans.).

5 The Aḥob scholia themselves will not be discussed in this section, because, aside from his use of select parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, Isho'dad does not preserve any new, unaltered Aḥob scholion that is not found in the earlier East Syriac exegetical tradition, as presented in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, it should be stated that Isho'dad makes a passing reference to Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, which is preserved in a fuller form in the later *Anonymous Commentary*. For this reason, this Aḥob scholion will be discussed in Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.4. 1Samuel 8:1, 6.

6 Namely, God.

7 Namely, Abram.

8 Namely, Abram.

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Isho'dad's commentary on these same verses states:[9]

> [9] And because, being a man, he was still doubtful about the promise, about how these (things) could be (realized, God) removed his uncertainty by means of the three victims, which he ordered him to offer and (by which) he indicated to him all that his descendants would have to bear. By the *calf*, then, he[10] indicates that generation which first entered Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf. And by the *ram* he[11] indicates the second generation, for even though (the ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat. By the *goat*, then, he[12] indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation. A *tultā*, that is to say, three years old.[13] In like manner, by means of (the words) three and *tultā*, he[14] makes known the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*.[15] [10] That (phrase) *he*[16] *divided them equally* is an indication of the twelve tribes, in that he divided each animal into four parts. That (phrase) (*each*) *member*

9 The Syriac text of these verses, which are found in Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 149, *3–29*, states:

[9] ܘܡܛܠ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܥܕܝܢ ܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܛܥܢܬܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܫܬܒܩ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܫܘܟܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܠܬ ܕܒܚ̈ܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܘܒܗܢ ܐܘܕܥ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܢܬܒܥ ܠܙܪܥܗ ܕܢܣܒܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܥܒܕ. ܒܥܓܠܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܪ ܐܘܕܥ ܠܢ ܗܘ ܕܪܗ ܕܥܠ ܡܨܪ ܕܗܘ ܟܐܝܢ ܕܒܝܫ ܟܐܝܠ ܠܚܕܬ ܥܕ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ. ܘܒܟܪܐ ܡܪ ܐܘܕܥ ܠܢ ܗܘ ܕܪܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܕܐܢ ܙܥܘܪ ܘܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܥܓܠܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܬܘܩܦܐ ܡܢ ܥܬܐ. ܒܥܬܘܕܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܪ ܐܘܕܥ ܠܢ ܗܘ ܕܪܗ ܕܬܠܬ ܕܩܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܪ ܫܠܝܫܝ ܐܝ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܬܘܩܦܐ ܡܢ ܥܬܐ. ܒܗ ܒܗ

> was placed *opposite its fellow*, that is to say, (opposite) that from which it was cut off, is so that he might say that the parts of each of these three kinds (of animals) are arranged one opposite the other, as if that (animal is) alive. (There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged. But by their division, he[17] declares the vexation and misery, which they[18] (were) going to endure in Egypt. And by that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other, he[19] also declared that although they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow. But (that phrase) *he*[20] *did not divide the birds* indicates their[21] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly and go out from Egypt. But, also, because the (Hebrew) people (would) not be mingled with (other) peoples, (whether) in the desert or in the inhabited land. But, also, because that fourth generation (would) no longer be divided but they (would) be governed by the rulers of the people.[22]

The following tables present the words and/or phrases which Ishoʿdad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion (as found in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*), with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. Each verse will be presented separately, and the order will follow Ishoʿdad's text:

Genesis 15:9

Ishoʿdad (149, *9*, *9*, *12*, *12*, *13*)[23]	**Aḥob** (73, *27–28*, *28*, *28*, *28–74*, *1*, *3*, *3–4*)[24]
(Omits)	"which has not yet been bound to the yoke" (ܕܠܐ ܚܕܝܠ ܚܕܡ ܥܠ ܚܕܐ)

17 Namely, Moses.
18 Namely, the Hebrew people.
19 Namely, Moses.
20 Namely, Abram.
21 Namely, the Hebrew people.
22 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), 161–162.
23 The text, page, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 149, *3–29*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.
24 The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19–74*, *15*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9–10.

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(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
"And by the *ram*" (ܘܒܟܪܝܐ)	"by the *ram*" (ܟܪܝܐ)
(Omits)	"But again" (ܬܘܒ ܥܕ)
"he indicates the second generation" (ܡܦܫܩ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܓܢܝ̈ܢ)	"he indicates the second generation" (ܡܦܫܩ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܓܢܝ̈ܢ ܠܚ)
"A *tultā*, that is to say, three years old" (ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܗܘ.ܐܝܬ.ܠܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ)	(Does Not Use)
"In like manner" (ܟܕܢܐ)	"Therefore, in like manner" (ܠܗܟܝ ܟܕܢܐ)
"the three generations" (ܬܠܬ ܓܢܝ̈ܢ)	"the three generations" (ܬܠܬ ܓܢܝ̈ܢ)

Genesis 15:10

Isho'dad (149, *14, 14–16, 16, 16, 17–19, 20–21, 21, 22–23, 24, 25–26*)	**Aḥob** (74, *5, 8, 8–9, 9, 5–7, 7–8, 10–11, 11, 12–13, 14, 15*)
"That (phrase) *he divided them equally*" (ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܐܢܘܢ ܫܘܝ̈ܐ ܠܐ)	"But that (phrase) *he divided them equally*" (ܗܘܐ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܐܢܘܢ ܫܘܝ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܥܕ)
"is an indication of the twelve tribes, in that he divided each animal into four parts" (.ܡܦܫܩ ܐܬܪܝܗ ܕܫܒܛܝ̈ ܥܣܪ ܒܗ ܕܦܠܓ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܐܪܒܥ ܦܓܪ̈ܝ̈ܢ)	(Does Not Use)
"That (phrase) ... was placed" (ܐܬܬܣ ܠܐ)	"He places" (ܣܐܡ)
(Omits)	"that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow" (ܕܐܝܬ.ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܬܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܚܒܪܗ ܠܐ)

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(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
"that is to say, (opposite) that" (ܕܐ.ܕܐ)	"he placed it opposite the member" (ܡܫܝܡ ܠܡܚܠ ܡܚܡ)
"that the parts of each of these three kinds (of animals) are arranged one opposite the other, as if that (animal is) alive" (ܕܟܠܗ ܡܠܝ ܒܟ ܫ ܕܚ ܫ ܠܚ ܕܚ ܫ ܡܗܝܢ ܚܕܝ ܗܘ ܫ ܠܡܚܠ

the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, Isho'dad uses Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, in large part, as his own commentary on these same verses. While he only alters minor details (more so in v. 10 than in v. 9) of that which is preserved in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, he likely views this scholion as authoritative in its own right and, thus, he presents it in an anonymized form, with one lengthy comment attached to the end. Furthermore, like the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, he does offer some introductory and concluding remarks on v. 9, both of which bracket Aḥob's scholion: the former, in many ways, functions as an extended discussion of vv. 7–8;[26] the latter clarifies the symbolic meaning of the "turtle dove" (ܬܘܪܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ), neither of which was commented on, by name,[27] by Aḥob.

4.1.2 *Genesis 50:10*

According to the Peshitta, Gen 50:10 states:

ܘܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢܐ ܕܐܛܕ	And they[28] came to the threshing floors
ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢܐ.	of Aṭar, which (are) beyond the Jordan.
ܘܣܦܕ ܬܡܢ	And they mourned there
ܣܦܕܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܬܩܝܦܐ.	(with) a great and loud mourning.
ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐܒܝܗ, ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ	And he[29] made a lamentation for his father[30]
ܟܕ ܡܛܠ.	(for) seven days.

tary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32, it is arguable that it was the main source for Isho'dad at this point. As such, Aḥob would be its original author. See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xlii–xliii and Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 339. There is a further discussion of aspects of v. 9 in Isho'dad, specifically on the "turtle dove" (ܬܘܪܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ), following v. 10. However, for the same reasons discussed in Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1., it is unlikely that this particular text originates from Aḥob.

26 Gen 15:7–8 states, "[7] And he said to him, 'I am the Lord, your God, who brought you out from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you this land to possess it.' [8] And Abram said, 'Lord God, by what (means) will I know that I will possess it' (ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܢܐ ܝܗܘܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܟ ܕܐܦܩܟ ܡܢ ܐܘܪ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܟ ܐܬ ܗܕܐ ܕܬܐܪܬ. [7] ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܡ. ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܝܡ ܒܡܐ ܐܕܥ ܕܐܪܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܬ ܗܕܐ ܕܬܐܪܬ. [8] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܝܡ ܒܡܐ ܐܕܥ ܕܐܪܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܬ ܗܕܐ ܕܬܐܪܬ)?"

27 While Aḥob briefly comments on the Peshitta phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܕܠܐ ܦܠܚ ܥܦܬܐ) at the end of his Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, he does not discuss the turtle dove and the young dove by name, as he had done with the calf, the ram, and the goat.

28 Namely, Joseph and a company of people, including his brothers and the elders of the land of Egypt.

29 Namely, Joseph.

30 Namely, Jacob.

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Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse states:[31]

> That (phrase) *they came to the threshing floors of Aṭar* (ܐܛܪ), *which* (*are*) *beyond the Jordan* (ܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢܐ), (is) because the ford of the Jordan is there to enter the land of Canaan. But *there they mourned*, (is) because that great encampment, with animals and with chariots and wagons, was not able to cross over to the land of Canaan, (which) is full of mountains, etc. But *Aṭar* is not a "tomb" in the Egyptian language (ܠܝܬ ܐܛܪ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܠܐ), as some (ܐܝܬܝܢ) (say). But *Aṭar* was called "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܛ), that is to say, a bramble (ܣܘܟܐ). And now it is called "Beth-Ḥgālā" (ܒܝܬ ܚܓܠܐ), that is to say, the place of the circle, because there, while they mourned over Jacob, they formed a circle. And there is in it a spring of sweet water, and to this day there is a large bramble there, that which is called "Aṭaṭ" in the Canaanite language (ܒܠܫܢ ܟܢܥܢܝܐ), so that because of it the place is called "Aṭaṭ." And (this place) is four milestones distant from Jericho and two milestones from the Jordan.[32]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion (as found in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*), with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

31 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 222, *3–16*, states:

ܟܕ ܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢ ܐܛܪ ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܪ ܗܘ

Isho'dad (222, *8*)[33]	**Aḥob** (128, *15*, *15–16*, *17*)[34]
"But *Aṭar* is not a 'tomb' in the Egyptian language" (ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܗܝ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܦ)	"*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܐܝܟ ܕܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܬܪ)
(Omits)	"He calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a '*dufnā*'" (ܕܩܪܐ ܠܬܒܘܬܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܐܘ ܠܐܪܘܢܗ ܕܬܪܥܐ)
(Omits)	"*The threshing floors* of the tomb" (ܓܘܪܢ ܕܩܒܪܐ)

While he does not reference him by name, Isho'dad likely refers to Aḥob (among others) by the cryptic term "some" (ܐܝܢܘܢ). Furthermore, Isho'dad is aware of at least one of Aḥob's extant Genesis 50:10 fragments but disagrees with it; it is unclear if he had further knowledge of the other two extant Aḥob Genesis 50:10 fragments or if he simply chose to ignore them, possibly because they did not interest him or because he viewed one of them as being similar enough to the Aḥob Genesis 50:10 fragment with which he does interact. Concerning the Aḥob Genesis 50:10 fragment that Isho'dad does preserve, he presents it in a slightly reworked form: "But *Aṭar* is not a 'tomb' in the Egyptian language" (ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܗܝ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܦ ܐܬܪ); he states this Aḥobian fragment in order to refute it. In its place, he suggests that the word is better understood as "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܛ), which is pronounced as such "in the Canaanite language" (ܒܠܫܢ ܟܢܥܢܝ). Isho'dad likely concludes that Aṭaṭ cannot be Egyptian (as Aḥob viewed the comparable noun Aṭar), because it is not located in Egypt. Rather, it is "beyond the Jordan" (ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ), implying the land of Canaan, and, therefore (according to Isho'dad) it must be a Canaanite word. The further details he presents concerning Aṭar, such as its modern name of "Beth-Ḥgālā" (ܒܝܬ ܚܓܠܐ) and its distance from Jericho and the Jordan river,

33 The text, page, and line number are taken from Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 222, *3–16*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

34 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 128, *14–21*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.2. Genesis 50:10.

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appear to be drawn from Epiphanius of Salamis' *On Weights and Measures*[35] and are likely meant to establish Isho'dad's interpretation as correct over and above those who suggest that Aṭar is a "tomb" (ܩܒܪܐ).

4.1.3 *1Samuel 8:1, 6*

According to the Peshitta, 1Sam 8:1, 6 states:

ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܣܒ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ [1]	[1] And it came to pass that when
ܗܘܐ ܠܫܡܘܐܝܠ. ܘܗܘ	Samuel grew old, he made
ܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܝܫܪܝܠ.	his sons judges over Israel.
ܘܠܐ ܛܒ ܒܥܝܢܝ [6]	[6] But the word was evil
ܫܡܘܐܝܠ. ܒܥܝܢܝ	in the eyes of Samuel
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ	when they said to him, "Give us a king
ܕܢܕܝܢ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ.	to judge us, like all the nations."
ܘܨܠܐ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ.	And Samuel prayed before the Lord.

Isho'dad's relevant commentary on these same verses[36] states:[37]

> For that (comment) that (it was) because of the impudence of the sons of Samuel (that) the people were moved to ask (for) a king is set forth "causally" (ܥܠܬ ܣܒܒܝܬ),[38] like others which (are) like this. For they were not evil like the sons of Eli,[39] and Saul was also two years old when

35 See James Elmer Dean (ed.), *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 11; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 73b, *39*–73c, *18* (Syriac), 71 (English).

36 Isho'dad presents a lengthy summary of 1Sam 8 (without distinguishing specific verses) that largely focuses on why God was angry with the Israelites for asking for a human king and then why he gave them a human king. Cf. Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 57–59. It is only the final section of his commentary on 1Sam 8 that is relevant for this study.

37 The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text), 47, *15–21*, states:
ܟܠܡ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܟܕ ܕܚܝܫܘܗܝ ܕܒܢܝ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܥܠ ܚܢ ܕܫܐܠܘ ܥܡܡܐ ܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܝܕ ܣܒܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܪܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ. ܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܝܫ ܐܝܟ ܒܢܝ ܥܠܝ ܘܫܐܘܠ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܫܢܬܝܢ ܟܕ
ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܒܩ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܡܫܚ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܝܫܪܝܠ. ܘܗܘ ܟܕ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܒܩ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܡܫܚ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܝܫܪܝܠ. ܘܗܘ ܟܕ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ ܘܢܕܝܢ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ ܘܢܕܝܢ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ.

38 See Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 24, n. 6, where he notes that Isho'dad frequently describes biblical utterances as "causal," meaning that the Bible's indication of the cause or reason for God's action is not in fact God's real cause or reason.

39 Cf. 1Sam 2:12–17, 22–25. Isho'dad is stating that the sons of Samuel were not as evil as the

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he became corrupt.[40] Therefore, for this (man) there was (divine) support (ܣܡܘܟܐ), which accomplished everything. Samuel was displeased when they sought a king (ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܠܐ ܨܒ ܕܢܫܐܠܘ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ), because he knew that they would forsake God and they would serve demons and they would judge like kings worshipping creatures (ܕܝܕܥ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܫܒܩܘܢ ܘܕܦܓܪܝ ܣܛܢܐ ܘܕܢܕܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܒܪܝܬܐ).[41]

Since he only presents a summary of Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion,[42] a table presenting the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of this Aḥob scholion cannot be given.

In this section of his commentary on 1Sam 8, Isho'dad mentions (by way of an anonymized summary) at least part of Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion.[43] While he epitomizes it as being "set forth 'causally'" (ܡܫܬܡܗ ܥܠ ܥܠܬܐ), Isho'dad insists that an interpretation of the Israelites' desire to have a king—based strictly on a reaction to the ungodly behavior of Samuel's sons—is unten-

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sons of Eli, and the wickedness of the sons of Eli had not pushed the Israelites to ask for a king, so there must be another reason.

40 This strange statement depends on 1Sam 13:1, where the Hebrew states that "Saul was a year old when he began to reign, and he reigned two years over Israel" (בֶּן־שָׁנָה שָׁאוּל בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁתֵּי שָׁנִים מָלַךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל). Isho'dad knows of this reading through the Syriac translation of Symmachus, and he adds the explanation: "(This) signifies that at that time when he began to reign Saul was a simple man, unexperienced with evil things, and conducted himself with such a will for two years. But afterwards he changed and was rejected by God" (ܗܘ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܫܐܘܠ ܒܗܝ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܫܪܐ ܠܡܡܠܟ ܟܕ ܣܒܪ ܦܫܝܛ ܗܘ ܘܐܬܢܗܓ ܒܗ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܫܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܐܫܬܚܠܦ ܘܐܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ). The logic is that if God knew that Saul would become corrupt so quickly, why did God then approve of the request for a king? (The discussion of this logic forms the basis of Isho'dad's exegesis at the start of his commentary on 1Sam 8.) See Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text), 46, *20*–47, *15*; 49, *10*–*15* and idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 57–58, 60–61.

41 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 58–59.

42 Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion states, "And after other things he discusses the evil way of life of the sons of Samuel, these whom Samuel appointed (as) [8:1] *judges over Israel*, when he reached old age, so that, due to the greatness of their iniquity, the people should be compelled to ask that they should have a king. (On account of) this—when [6] *Samuel* heard that they had asked to have *a king* for themselves—he was grieved, *and* therefore he *prayed before the Lord*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.5. 1Samuel Scholion. For a discussion of the key elements of this scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.4. 1Samuel 8:1, 6.

43 It can be known that this part of Isho'dad's text refers (among others) to Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, because the full scholion is preserved (with Aḥob Qaṭraya's name attached to it) in the *Anonymous Commentary on 1Samuel*. For a further discussion of this scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.4. 1Samuel 8:1, 6.

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able, because it does not account for "(divine) support" (ܣܥܘܕܐ), which (Isho'dad suggests) is the main protagonist in the narrative of 1Sam 8. In short, Isho'dad states this brief summary of part of Aḥob's scholion in order to refute it. Beyond his summary of the first part (i.e. v. 1) of Aḥob's scholion (with which he disagrees), it is unlikely that Isho'dad relies on Aḥob for his understanding of v. 6 for two related reasons: 1) his brief summary of v. 6—"Samuel was displeased when they sought a king" (ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܐܬܪܥܡ ܕܒܥܘ ܡܠܟܐ)—is likely drawn from the Peshitta text of vv. 4–5[44] (i.e. verses upon which Aḥob does not comment) in connection with v. 6, and 2) he elaborates on Samuel's reaction to the Israelites' request for a human king with details not found (or even hinted at) in Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, namely "because he knew that they would forsake God and they would serve demons and they would judge like kings worshipping creatures" (ܕܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܬܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܫܒܩܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܕܝܢܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܒܥܠܝ ܚܝܐ).

4.1.4 *Cause of the Psalms*

Isho'dad preserves seven fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in the multi-sectioned introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*.[45] The first is situated as (roughly) the first third of his fourth introductory section (ܕ);[46] the other six are scattered, in a reordered manner, within (roughly) the first two-thirds of his fifth introductory section (ܗ).[47] Though Aḥob is not mentioned by name, Isho'dad's dependency upon his *Cause of the Psalms* is shown (like that of Theodore bar Koni) by a number of borrowed themes, which he uses to construct part of his fourth introductory section. However, unlike Bar Koni, he also preserves several similar (and at times, identical) words and phrases in both sections that arguably originate from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*.[48] If

44 1Sam 8:4–5 states, "[4] And all the elders of the sons of Israel were gathered and they came to Samuel at Ramah [5] and they said to him 'Behold! You have grown old and your sons do not walk in your ways. Now, give us a king to rule (over) us, like all the nations'" ([4] ܘܟܠ ܣܒܝ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܠܪܡܬܐ. [5] ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܗܐ ܣܒܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܘܒܢܝܟ ܠܐ ܗܠܟܝܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܬܟ. ܗܫܬܐ ܣܝܡ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܕܐܢ ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ.).

45 Van den Eynde notes the parallels between Aḥob and Isho'dad, but he does not develop their specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 3, n. 1, 4, n. 1, 5, n. 3.

46 Though it is not presented in the Syriac text, Van den Eynde gives the heading, "Chapter 4: The Advantages of Chanting," in a footnote of his translation. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 3 (above n. 1).

47 Though it is not presented in the Syriac text, Van den Eynde gives the heading, "Chapter 5: The Incomparable Value of the Psalter," in a footnote of his translation. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4 (above n. 1).

48 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* fragments will be presented in the order of their appearance

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Isho'dad's first Aḥob fragment is compared with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, it appears as follows:

	Isho'dad's Chapter 4 The Advantages of Chanting (3, *4–10*)[49]	**Aḥob (*135–138* and *145–164*)**[50]
Fragment 1	"And it is asked why (David) put the psalms to music. We say so that it might easily entice the hearers to the love of his teaching through their abundant delightfulness, as also debauched songs especially entice and drag many (people) to these hostile ones.[51] And as a sweet taste pleases the palate, so also subtle and naturally melodious sounds (are pleasing) for the ears. But, again, because the Jews are especially dense and they need childish inducements" (ܗܟܢܐ ܕܫܐܠ ܠܡܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܫܒܚ ܠܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܪ̈ܝ ܠܫܡܥܐ ܠܪ̈ܚܡ ܠܬܘܫܒܚܬܗ ܒܬܘ̈ܒ ܕܫܘܒܚܗ ܘܒܪ̈ܝ ܫܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܫܟܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܪ̈ܝ ܠܡܫܡܥ ܐܦ ܠܗ̈ܠܝܢ ܠܥܠ ܠܥܠ ܡܫܟ̈ܚܢ ܘܡܫܒ̈ܝ ܠܗ̈ܠܝܢ ܠܒܥ̈ܠܝ ܒܥ̈ܠܝ ܒܥ̈ܠܝ ܠ

(*cont.*)

Isho'dad's Chapter 4	Aḥob
ܗܘ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܒܟܠܗ ܥܠ ܕܝܘܕ ܢܒܝܐ ܠܡ ܥܠ ܟܕ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܝ ܕܒܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܘܒܫܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܙܡܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܫܒܚ̈ܬܐ ܘܬܫ̈ܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܠܗ

(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
"debauched songs" (ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ)	"debauched songs" (ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ)
"the Jews" (ܝܗ̈ܘܕ̈ܝܐ)	"the Hebrews" (ܥܒ̈ܪܝܐ)

Isho'dad's fourth introductory section introduces his readers to the advantages of chanting the Psalms.[52] In order to explore these advantages, Isho'dad turns to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and draws a number of themes—as well as select Aḥobian terminology—(albeit in a rearranged and slightly reformatted manner) to begin his discussion of this topic. This is significant, because it reveals that Isho'dad viewed this text as being an authoritative source from which he could develop his own ideas about chanting the Psalms and its advantages.

Turning to (roughly) the first two-thirds of his fifth introductory section (ⲙ), Isho'dad's main source is Theodore bar Koni's *Memra* v, 17, as is shown by the boldface text below.[53] However, interspersed in this same section, Isho'dad utilizes six fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. These fragments are numbered (continuing from the first fragment preserved in Isho'dad's fourth introductory section presented above) and offset in boldface brackets to highlight their general placement within the following portion of his fifth introductory section:[54]

52 The first three sections of his introduction focus on the following themes: "Chapter 1: The Division of the Psalms"; "Chapter 2: The Origin of the Liturgical Chanting"; "Chapter 3: The Origin of the Double Mode of Chanting." See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 1–2.

53 The parallel Syriac text (and English translation) of these Bar Koni fragments will be given in footnotes within this subsection, strictly for the purpose of establishing their observational similarity to Isho'dad; beyond this, they will not be discussed.

54 The Syriac text of this Isho'dad passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 4, 2–5, *4* states:

ܠܫ ܟܬܒ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܚ ܀ ܒܚܝܕ ܫܠܫ ܡܐܬ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܙ̈ܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܟܬܒ ܕܡ̈ܙ̈ܡܪ̈ܐ
ܕܒܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܠ ܕܡ̈ܙ̈ܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܐ

{2}[And it is asked why the Church is ordered to recite only David, while one of the clerics may not approach (to be consecrated to) any of the ecclesiastical ranks without (having mastered) the recitation of the psalms] (ܗ ܟܬܒ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܕܒܝܬ ܟܢܫܐ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܠܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܠܚܘ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܫܘܡ ܠܐ ܢܩܪܒ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܣܕܪ ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܣܪܒܐ ܐܠܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܕܢ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܣܪܒܐ ܐܠܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܕܢ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܕܘܝܕ). It (was) not (ordered) hastily nor rashly. But, first, indeed, because **(the psalter) was spoken by David in melodies and in meters, and his words are divided and are ordered metrically and (are) suitable for worship.**[55] But the other books (are recited less often), because they were spoken in reproof and were transmitted in a sending to people; and, again, (because) in those which were written in the form of histories are found various unsuitable (things); and, again, (because they) were not spoken by their authors in (various) kinds of song(s), they are less suitable for this work. Second, in that all the books are divided into ten "theories," as we said in introduction to the Book of Creation, and each one speaks a partial (teaching). But in the Book of Psalms all the aims of the Scriptures are hidden. **And it is the fullness and the total and the collection of all the prophets who (came) after it**,[56] and (it is) the bond of the two Testaments; and {3}[it is the head of the whole body of the Holy Scriptures] (ܗܘ ܕܪܫ ܟܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܩܕܫܐ ܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ). Third, **in it is contained and is gathered the wealth of all the spiritual goods;**

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55 The parallel Bar Koni text states, "His songs are also pleasing and alluring, because he composed them in meters, according to the methods of singing" (ܗܘ ܕܫܪ ܒܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܡܙܡܘܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܙܡܘܪ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 354, *3–5* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

56 The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[H]e is the fullness and the sum of all the prophets after him" (ܗܘ ܕܪܫ ܟܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܩܕܫܐ ܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܬܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 353, *16–17* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

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in it is depicted the knowledge of the two worlds;[57] in it creation is spoken about and (also) the (divine) economy which (was fulfilled) in it. **In it there is encouragement for the afflicted (ones) and reproach for the evil (ones) and incentive for the weak (ones)**[58] and humiliation for the powerful (ones) and **(the means) by which we should resist the passions**[59] and the demons and receive {4}[the medicine for the healing of (our) pains] (ܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ). For {5}[it speaks] ⟨about the appearance of our Savior in the flesh⟩ (ܥܠ ܐܬܪܐܝܬܗ ܕܦܪܩܢ ܒܣܪܐ),[60] and {5 cont.}[about the greatness of his divinity and about the abasement of his humanity] (ܥܠ ܪܘܡܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ... ܘܥܠ ܡܟܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗ) and about his inseparable unity and about all his (divine) economy (in which) the offerings were fulfilled. In short, all (things)—former things and latter things—are found in it. And because {6}[it is like Paradise adorned with flowers and jasmines and all (other) species] (ܕܡܬܐ ܥܠ ܫܘܫܢܐ ܘܣܘܟܐ ܘܟܠ ܙܢܐ ,ܓܢܬܐ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܒܗ), and as the head in which is the end (of) all the difference(s) of the senses and in which operates the insignificant intellect which resides in the brain, and as **an image of a king**[61] is painted {with a multitude of pigments}(ܕܡܬܨܒܥ ܒܣܓܝ ܨܒܥܐ),[62] and as the door that gives access to

57 The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[I]n him is defined and gathered the wealth of all the spiritual goods ... For in him the knowledge of the two ages is depicted" (ܒܗ ܡܬܚܡ ... ܒܗ ܒܝܢ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܡܬܚܙܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 353, *18–19* and *20–21* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

58 The parallel Bar Koni text states, "In him is encouragement for the afflicted ones, reproach for the evil ones, and incentive for the weak ones" (ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܬܚܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܘܠܟܝܫܐ ܕܡܬܟܠܡ ܘܠܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܩ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 353, *22–23* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

59 The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[A]nd he teaches how to endure before natural passions" (ܘܡܠܦ ܕܢܬܩܛܪܓ ܩܕܡ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 353, *21* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

60 Van den Eynde suggested that Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1 may be a source for Isho'dad's fifth introductory section. However, if accepted, Isho'dad only borrows (and then modifies) the above phrase from Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, the parallel text and translation, of which, state, "concerning Christ, that he will appear in the flesh" (ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܒܣܪܐ). See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1; ms. British Library, Add. 14,543, f. 143r, col. 2, *13–15*; an unpublished translation of this phrase (and broader Prologue), which was produced by Seth M. Stadel and David G. K. Taylor. For a discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

61 The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[A]n image of a king" (ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 353, *19–20* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

62 Van den Eynde suggested that Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of Psalms* may be a source for

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the divine dwellings, (it is) very suitable (that this book) be established (as) the example of the sound foundation for the whole structure of the liturgy. **For by reciting its words, the saints drive the demons away and they gather angels together to them, and they bring Christ**[63] {7}[to their aid] (ܥܡܗܘܢ).[64]

If the words and phrases, within the boldface brackets, are compared with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, they appear as follows:

	Isho'dad's Chapter 5 The Incomparable Value of the Psalter (*4, 2–4, 16–17, 21–22, 22* and *23, 26–27, 5, 4*)	**Aḥob (*126–127* and *129–133, 26–27, 188, 195–196, 36–41, 112*)**
Fragment 2	"And it is asked why the Church is ordered to recite only David, while one of the clerics may not approach (to be consecrated to) any of the ecclesiastical ranks without (having mastered) the recitation of the psalms" (ܫܐܠܝܢ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܠܡܢܐ ܡܬܩܢܢ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܐܢ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܬܩܪܒ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪܓܐ ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܠܡ ܒܩܪܝܢ ܕܡܙܡܘܪܐ)	"our holy Fathers … also rightly and justly determined that we should recite only this book more than the others. And without (the ability of complete) recitation of its words, a person would not be able to draw near to one of the ecclesiastical ranks" (ܐܒܗܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ... ܐܦ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܘܒܩܫܬܐ ܩܢܘ ܕܗܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܫܐܪ ܣܦܪܐ ... ܘܒܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܡ ܠܢ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܬܩܪܒ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪܓܐ ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ)

Isho'dad's fifth introductory section. However, if accepted, Isho'dad only borrows (and then modifies) the above phrase from Nathniel's *Cause of Psalms*, the parallel text and translation, of which, state, "in a multitude of colors" (ܒܓܘܢܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ). See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1; Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms," 102, *13*; a translation of this phrase (and broader *Cause of the Psalms*) in Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

63 The parallel Bar Koni text states, "For this is not hidden how, by the recitation of the holy words, they drive away all the rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. That is to say, (they) also (invite) Christ our Lord" (ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܟܣܝܐ ܗܘ ܒܩܪܝܢ ܕܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܪܓܙܝܢ ܫܕܝ ܟܠ ܓܢܕܐ ܡܪܕܘܬܢܝܐ ܘܟܢܫ ܠܘܬܗ ܓܒܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܡܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܡܗܘܢ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 354, *5–8* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

64 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4–5.

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(*cont.*)

	Isho'dad's Chapter 5	**Aḥob**
Fragment 3	"it is the head of the whole body of the Holy Scriptures" (ܗܠܝ ܐܝܟ ܪܫܝܬ ܟܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܟܬܒܐ)	"the head (in relation) to the body of the Holy Scriptures" (ܪܫܝܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܝ)
Fragment 4	"the medicine for the healing of (our) pains" (ܣܡܪܐ ܕܐܣܝܐ ܟܐܒ)	"a medicine for all pains" (ܣܡܪܐ ܠܟܠ ܟܐܒ)
Fragment 5	"it speaks … about the greatness of his divinity and about the abasement of his humanity" (ܠܟ … ܐܡܪ ܟܬܝܒ ܠܟ ∴ ܒܗܘܡܢܘܬܗ ܪܒܬ ܒܗܘܡܢܘܬܗ)	"he prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity" (ܒܗܘܡܢܘܬܗ ܠܟ ܢܒ ܒܗܘܡܢܘܬܗ ܠܟ)
Fragment 6	"it is like Paradise adorned with flowers and jasmines and all (other) species" (ܐܡܘܪ ܟܡܘ ܦܪܕܝܣ ܫܪ ܠܟ ܟܬܝܡ ܟܬܒ ܒܣܡ ܘܒܣܦܝܪ)	"Or as one might speak about Paradise, that which abounds with all species of fruits, (which are) sweet to the taste *and* desirable to the sight, in comparison with those (fruits) which are found in part in various (other) places" (ܟܡܘ ܦܪܕܝܣ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܕܝ ܫܪ ܐܝ ܟܬܝܡ ܟܠ ܡܝܢ ܦܝܪ ܕܡܬܩ ܘܢܚܡܕ ܠܡܪܐ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܕܒܚܪ ܐܦ ܒܫܐܪ ܕܒܐܬܪ ܡܬܪ ܒܦܪܫ ܕܡܬܩ ܘܢܚܡܕ ܠܡܪܐ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܕܒܚܪ ܐܦ ܒܫܐܪ ܕܒܐܬܪ ܡܬܪ ܒܦܪܫ)
Fragment 7	"to their aid" (ܠܥܘܠܡܗܝ)	"to their aid" (ܠܥܘܠܡܗܝ)

In his fifth introductory section, Isho'dad expounds upon the value of the Psalter. One of the ways in which he accomplishes this end is that he includes rearranged material from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, as is shown by the line numbers of the parallel Aḥob fragments in the table above. In each of these six fragments, Isho'dad uses similar or exact wording from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, though he simultaneously abridges and/or slightly develops select parts of these fragments. While Isho'dad uses Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, his preferred source for phraseology in this section is Bar Koni's *Memra* v, 17. For

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instance, his first Bar Koni reference above, namely, "(the psalter) was spoken by David in melodies and in meters, and his words are divided and are ordered metrically, and (are) suitable for worship" (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܫܬܟܚ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܙܡܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܒܡܫܚ̈ܢܐ ܘܡܬܦܠܓ̈ܐ ܘܡܬܣܕܪ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܡܠ̈ܘܗܝ ܘܡܬܚܙ̈ܝ ܠܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܠܩ̈ܘܪܒܢܐ). has a partial parallel in Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: "Grace rightly caused (him) to compose his words in meters (accompanied) by the sounds of (various) kinds of music and different melodies" (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܠ̈ܘܗܝ ܒܙܡܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܒܩܠ̈ܝ ܟܠ ܙܡ̈ܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܓܡ̈ܐ ܫܘܝ̈ܐ).[65] Isho'dad could have easily chosen Aḥob's phraseology and developed it. But he opted for Bar Koni's wording instead. Or again, another (more concise) example is Isho'dad's penultimate Bar Koni reference above: "an image of a king" (ܕܡܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ). Aḥob uses the same phrase (twice), though he selects two different nouns for "image": ܕܡܘܬ ... ܕܠܝ and ܕܡܘܬ ... ܨܠܡܐ.[66] On the occasions when Bar Koni's *Memra* v, 17 and Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* present similar texts, Isho'dad consistently choses to rely on Bar Koni's phraseology, likely because he appreciates the terseness of Bar Koni's wording, an approach which Isho'dad himself often employs in his biblical commentaries.[67] Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that (for his fifth introductory section) Isho'dad had access to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and did not glean any Aḥob fragments from Bar Koni's *Memra* v, 17. This can be known because the Aḥob fragments presented in the table above are without parallel in Bar Koni.[68]

There are three broad patterns that emerge from these two sections of Isho'dad's introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*, in relation to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: 1) Isho'dad selectively chooses fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* that he believes will be useful for his introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*; 2) Isho'dad uses these Aḥob fragments to expand his borrowed, reworked presentation of Bar Koni's *Memra* v, 17 in his fifth introductory section;[69] 3) Isho'dad begins both his fourth and fifth introductory sections with an Aḥob fragment, likely because Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* was viewed (in the East Syriac exegetical tradition) as an authoritative source from

65 See Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *145–148*.

66 See ibid., *84* and *84*, *89* and *90*.

67 One example of Isho'dad's terse exegesis is found in his commentary on Gen 22. See Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 172, *1*–176, *2* and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), 185–189.

68 Bar Koni does rely on part of Aḥob's fragment 2 and all of his fragment 7 in the table above. However, the manner by which he rearranges and reformats these Aḥob fragments (as well as other parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*) makes it impossible for later writers to draw any original Aḥob phraseology from Bar Koni's *Memra* v, 17. For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

69 It is also possible that Isho'dad draws on lost or unknown introductions to the Psalms.

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which he could develop his discussions on the topics of chanting the Psalms and the value of the Psalter.

4.1.5 *Psalm 5:4*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 5:4 states:

ܡܪܝ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܫܡܥ ܩܠܝ.	Lord, in the morning you will hear my voice,
ܒܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ	and in the morning I will prepare myself
ܘܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ.	and I will be seen by you.

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse[70] states:[71]

> *Lord, in the morning*. For *morning* (ܨܦܪܐ) is understood in four ways in the Scriptures (ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ): concerning swiftness or concerning joy and cheerfulness (ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܒܚܕܘܬܐ) or concerning zeal (ܒܩܢܝܐ) or concerning the (actual) time of the morning (ܨܦܪܐ). But, here, he speaks about swiftness and about being early (ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܠܘܬ). "I am zealously rising early to prayer before you. But you, like the swiftness of the *morning* (ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ), have shown forth for me the light of deliverance from the Babylonian(s)."[72]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

70 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 5:3. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 24, *15* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 28.

71 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 24, *15–20*, states:
ܡܪܝ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܫܡܥ ܩܠܝ. ܨܦܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܬ ܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ. ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܒܚܕܘܬܐ ܒܩܢܝܐ ܐܘ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܬ ܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܬ ܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܬ ܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܓܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ.

72 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 28–29.

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Isho'dad (*24, 15, 16–17, 17, 18*)[73]	**Aḥob** (*1, 2–4, 4*)[74]
"is understood in four ways" (ܡܬܬܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܡܠܝ)	"is understood in three (ways)" (ܡܬܠܬ ܫܒܥܐ)
"concerning swiftness or concerning joy and cheerfulness or concerning zeal or concerning the (actual) time of the morning" (ܥܠ ܡܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܫܦܝܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܫܘܩܕܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܙܒܢ ܨܦܪܐ ܕܨܦܪ̈ܐ)	"That is to say, either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this *morning*" (ܐܝ ܡܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܝ ܙܒܢ ܗܢܐ ܨܦܪܐ ܕܝܩܕ̈ܐ)
"But, here" (ܙܒܢ ܗܳܐ)	"But (on) this (occasion)" (ܙܒܢ ܗܳܝ)
"and about being early" (ܘܥܠ ܡܬܥܪܒܐ)	(Does Not Use)

Though he does not name him, Isho'dad is relying, in part, on Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion for his own commentary on this verse, likely because he views it as an authoritative explanation of the meaning of ܨܦܪ̈ܐ in Ps 5:4. He quotes over half of Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion. However, he does not simply reproduce Aḥob's words; he develops them by suggesting "four" (ܐܪܒܥ)—instead of Aḥob's "three" (ܬܠܬ)—possible meanings by which ܨܦܪ̈ܐ can be understood in this verse.[75] Furthermore, Isho'dad changes one of Aḥob's meanings, namely, "splendor" (ܡܗܝܪܘܬܐ), to the phrase "joy and cheerfulness" (ܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܫܦܝܪ̈ܘܬܐ)—which is arguably a development from one of Theodore of Mopsuestia's possible meanings for (the equivalent of) "in the morning" (ܨܦܪ̈ܐ)[76]—and adds the descriptor "zeal" (ܫܘܩܕܐ) to the list of possible

73 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 24, *15–20*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

74 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

75 Ter Haar Romeny notes these parallels but does not develop their specifics. See idem, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 451–452 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 148.

76 While it is only preserved in Latin, one of Theodore's three meanings for "in the morning" (*mane*) is "joy" (*laetitiam*). See Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 54, *17* (text) and 55 (trans.).

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meanings. He concludes, like Aḥob, that ܫܚܪ is best understood as "swiftness" (ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ). However, unlike Aḥob, he adds the additional phrase "and about being early" (ܘܥܠ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܫܦܪ). Furthermore, whereas Aḥob's scholion abruptly ends at this point, Isho'dad offers an explanation as to how "swiftness" ties into an understanding of ܫܚܪ: God is "like the swiftness of the morning" (ܐܝܟ ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܨܦܪ), in that he quickly revealed to David—through prayer—that the Israelites would be delivered from Babylonian captivity, the final part of which is a reference to the heading of Ps 5.[77]

4.1.6 *Psalm 29:9*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 29:9 states:

ܩܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܙܥ	The voice of the Lord that shakes
ܐܝܠܐ̈ ܘܓܠܐ ܝܥܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܒܗܝܟܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕ̈ܡܪ ܫܒܚ.	the hinds and uproots the thickets. And everyone in his temple says, "Glory!"

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse states:[78]

> He calls *'ylt'* (ܐܠܬܐ) the weak (ones) in the camp of the Assyrians, and (he calls) "*thicket*" (ܚܪܫ) the strong (ones). But (do) we read *'ylt'* either (in the sense of) trees,[79] which (are) young in their plantings, like that in which *Absalom was hung*,[80] or (in the sense of) hinds,[81] which dwell in the forest? (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܠܐ̈ ܕܡܫܬܥܒܕ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܚܢܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܐܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܠܐ̈ ܐܠܬܐ

77 While Isho'dad does not preserve a heading for Ps 5, a comparable Ps 5 heading is preserved in the *DGC*, which states, "He prophesies about the people in Babylon who ask God for a return." For the Syriac text of this psalm heading, see Appendix, Psalm 5.

78 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 49, *9–18*, states:

ܡܢ ܕܐܠܬܐ ܐܠܬܐ ܠܫܬܥܒܕ̈ܝܢ ܚܪܫ ܘܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܫܬܝܠ ܠܗ ܐܠܬܐ ܐܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܠܐ̈ ܕܡܫܬܥܒܕ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܚܢܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܐܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܠܐ̈ ܕܡܫܬܥܒܕ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܚܢܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܚܪܫ

ܟܕܟ ܚܝܬ̈ܐ ܕܒܛܠܬ ܐܢ ܡܠܐܟ ܟܕ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܩܠ ܫܒܪ̈ܐ) For in many forms he[82] declares his[83] anger against them.[84] For just as when the forest was *uprooted* and burned, the animals fled from the sound of the breaking of the trees, so also the Assyrians suddenly fled, with shame (on) their faces, from the sound of the (angelic) hosts,[85] in the likeness of *hinds* which hasten to flee, and the place where they were camping remains (deserted), like a forest (emptied) of animals. The Greek (says), "The voice of the Lord strengthens the hinds and will reveal the forests."[86]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (49, *10*, *11–12*)[87]	**Aḥob** (*1*, *4–5*)[88]
"But … *'ylt'*" (ܐܝܠܬ ܒܗ)	"On the other hand … *'ylt'*" (ܐܝܠܬ ܕܐܦ)
"hinds, which dwell in the forest" (ܟܕܟ ܚܝܬ̈ܐ ܕܒܛܠܬ)	"hinds *and* ibexes, which dwell in the forests" (ܟܕܟ ܚܝܬ̈ܐ ܕܛܝܣ̈ܐ ܕܒܛܠܬ)

In his commentary on this verse, Isho'dad anonymously quotes Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion almost verbatim.[89] The simplest explanation for his reliance on Aḥob in this verse is that he, like Aḥob, is unclear on how to translate ܐܝܠܬ and, thus, Aḥob's scholion offers a concise range of possible meanings. How-

82 Namely, David.
83 Namely, God's.
84 Namely, the Assyrians.
85 Cf. 2 Chr 32:21.
86 The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 28:9, is φωνὴ κυρίου καταρτιζομένου ἐλάφους, καὶ ἀποκαλύψει δρυμούς. My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 58.
87 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 49, *9–18*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.
88 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.
89 Van den Eynde notes these parallels but does not develop their specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 58, n. 11.

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ever, unlike Aḥob, Isho'dad does not simply pose a question regarding its possible meanings; he states the Aḥobian question and then offers an answer to the translational dilemma by comparing ܐܝܠܬܐ with the fleeing Assyrians. Since "trees" (i.e. *'ilātā*) "which (are) young in their plantings" (ܐܝܠܢ ܕܫܝܠ ܒܚܕܬܐ) cannot flee—as the Assyrians did—Isho'dad implicitly asserts that ܐܝܠܬܐ must convey the meaning of "hinds" (i.e. *'aylātā*).[90]

4.1.7 *Psalm 31:6*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 31:6 states:

ܐܦܩܕ ܒܝܕܟ ܪܘܚܝ.	And I have caused my spirit to be guarded by you.
ܐܦܕܝܬܢܝ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗ ܫܪܪܐ.	And you redeemed me, Lord
	God of truth.

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse[91] states:[92]

> That (phrase), *I have caused my spirit to be guarded* (ܒܝܕ) *by you*, that is to say, I have guarded (ܒܝܕ), like that (verse), Gehazi *caused* (*the silver*) *to be guarded in the house* (ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܕ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ).[93] If I had not guarded it, that is to say, (if) I had (not) entrusted my soul to you, I would have perished by the hands of the Babylonians. For our Lord, while on the cross, used this word, not that it prophesied about him, but because in that moment it was adapted (to his circumstances), so that he could

90 The East Syriac *Masora* also suggests that this pluralized noun should be understood as *'aylātā*. See Loopstra, *An East Syrian Manuscript of the Syriac 'Masora' Dated to 899 CE* (vol. 1), 255, *3*.

91 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 31:4. He also begins Ps 31 with a one-sentence comment, presented as being from Ps 31:4, though it should be listed as Ps 31:5. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 50, *21–22*, *26* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 59.

92 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 50, *26*–51, *n*, states:

ܠܐ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܕ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܝܕ. ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܦܩܕ ܒܝܕܟ ܪܘܚܝ ܐܠܐ ܗܟ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܕ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܕ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܝ ܠܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܕ ܐܒܕ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܒܝܕ ܒܝܕ ܒܝܕ

> say it. The Greek (says), "Into your hands I will entrust my spirit."[94] Again, that (phrase), *I have caused* (*my spirit*) *to be guarded by you*, that is to say, like the treasure he[95] *causes to be guarded* by the person *in the house*,[96] so, also, I by you—*I have caused* (*my spirit*) *to be guarded* for me by you alone in watchfulness and in love. And just as the one who possesses a treasure endures all trials whatsoever (that) can happen on account of it through the consolation of that treasure, so, also in all my trials, I have been refreshed in you, as in a treasure. And it is like that (phrase), *Something which* (*is*) *caused to be guarded*,[97] etc.[98]

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (50, *26*, *26*, 50, *26*–51, *1*)[99]	**Aḥob** (*1*, *1*, *2*, *2*–*3*)[100]
"That (phrase), *'I have caused my spirit to be guarded by you'*" (ܗܝܠܟ ܥܒܕ ܕ ܪܘܚܝ)	*"I have caused* (*my spirit*) *to be guarded*" (ܗܝܠܟ)
"that is to say, I have guarded" (.ܐܡ ܗܝܠܟ)	"that is to say, I have guarded" (ܗܝܠܟ ܀ ܐ)
(Omits)	*"I have caused* (*my spirit*) *to be guarded*" (ܗܝܠܟ)

94 The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 30:6, is εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

95 Namely, Gehazi.

96 2 Kgs 5:24.

97 Ps 109:8.

98 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 59–60.

99 The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 50, *26*–51, *11*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

100 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
"Gehazi *caused* (*the silver*) *to be guarded*" (ܐܚܙܝ ܕܛܪ ܐܢܛܪ ܒܒܝܬܐ)	"Gehazi *took* (*the silver*) *and caused* (*it*) *to be guarded*" (ܐܚܙܝ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܘܐܢܛܪ ܐܚܪܢ)

In seeking to understand the meaning of the Peshitta "I have caused (it) to be guarded" (ܐܢܛܪ), Isho'dad anonymously relies on Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion,[101] likely because it offers a concise explanation of this verb. Rather than reproducing Aḥob's scholion in its totality, Isho'dad reworks aspects of it, focusing largely on Aḥob's reference to Gehazi's actions in 2 Kgs 5:24. The likeliest reason for Isho'dad's abridgment of this Aḥob scholion in this verse is that he is only interested in certain parts of it. For instance, Isho'dad focuses on Aḥob's Gehazi reference, because it helps to clarify the ambiguity raised by ܐܢܛܪ: just as Gehazi caused silver to be guarded in a house, so one can cause his/her spirit to be guarded by God. In this way, while Isho'dad abbreviates parts of Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion, he simultaneously draws out its exegetical implications, something that Aḥob does not detail in his extant Psalm 31:6 scholion.

4.1.8 *Psalm 39:4–6*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 39:4–6 states:

[4] ܠܒܝ ܚܡ ܒܓܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ	[4] My heart became hot within me
ܘܢܘܪ ܒܥܪ ܒܓܘ ܦܓܪܝ.	and a fire seized my body.
ܐܡܪ ܒܠܫܢܝ	I thought with my tongue
[5] ܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܣܘܦܝ ܘܡܕܕ	[5] and the Lord showed me my end
ܝܡܝ ܡܢܘ ܗܘ ܕܫܘܥܢܝ.	and what is the measure of my days,
ܕܐܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܝ ܚܕܠ ܐܢܐ.	that I might know why I remain.
[6] ܗܐ ܫܘܥܢܝ ܝܗܒܬ ܠܝ	[6] Behold! With a measure you have given
ܘܝܡܝ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܩܕܡܟ. ܘܐܦ	my days. And my lingering is like nothing
ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܗܒܠ ܟܠ ܩܝܡ. ܣܠܐ	before you, because all people
ܐܝܟ ܒܗܒܠ ܟܠ ܡܬܚܙܐ.	like vapor are rising.

101 Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 60, n. 2.

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Isho'dad's lengthy commentary on these same verses[102] (where references to Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on these verses are presented in boldface[103] and references to Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion are offset in boldface brackets, to highlight their general placement within the following[104]) states:[105]

102 Van den Eynde lists these verses as Ps 39:3a–5. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 59, *10*, *16*, *22* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 69.

103 Van den Eynde notes that Isho'dad relies on Theodore in his commentary on Ps 39:6, but he does not offer specific examples. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 69, n. 4. The parallel English translation (with the Greek text) of these Theodorean fragments will be given in footnotes within this subsection, strictly for the purpose of establishing their observational similarity to Isho'dad's wording; beyond this, they will not be discussed.

104 Each Aḥob fragment is also numbered within this subsection.

105 The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 59, *10*–61, *19*, states:

[4] ܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܀ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ. ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܐܚܕ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܓܒ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܚܕ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܚܕ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ

[4] That (phrase), *My heart became hot within me*, etc. Because, when we are moved by rage, our heart becomes hot, while being kindled by the blood which surrounds it and by the gall which is dispersed by the liver and then is sent away to the heart. He[106] says this, that when sufferings were pressing upon me, *my heart* became *hot* with anger and with sadness, and (it is) as if from the breath of my thoughts *a fire* was lit in all *my body*. **That (phrase) *I thought with my tongue*, that is to say, I sought from the Lord that he would make known to me how much time I have to live so that while I was being oppressed by the suffering, I might stretch out my mind to the end of my life and hence I would receive consolation**,[107] in that I think that with the end of (my) time even the evils which surround me will of course come to an end. [5] 〈 {1}[*The Lord showed me my end*, that is to say, that the knowledge of the brevity of our lives is fixed in (human) nature, etc.] (ܐܡܪ ܕܚܫܚ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܫ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܫܥܐ ܕܚܝܘܗܝ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܕ ܕܒܥܕ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܗܝ ܢܬܟܠ ܒܗ ܫܘܝ ܐܦ ܒܥܕ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܥܝ ܕܐܬܦܪܫ ܒܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ

ܟܕܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܫܘܪ ܕܐܬ ܗܘ ܠ ܫܘܡ ܕܫܘܒܚ). {3}[For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he[109] fixed how much he[110] should live, he[111] would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life). And, again, if he[112] had given one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies] (ܫܘܒܚ ܕܐܠ ̇ ܕܐ ܟܕ ܡܫܟ ܠܢ ܐܦ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܐ ܢܗܘ ܠܢ ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐ ̇ ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ̇ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܡܝܬ ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ̇ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ̇ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܡܝܬ ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ) **and we would be held back from the crowns of martyrdom, etc. Again, if we were without pains and sufferings, we would also not be able to be corrected from evils or (be able) to proceed in virtue. If, then, now—when myriads of sufferings harass us—we dare to perform vile things without fear, how much more if we were distanced from difficult (things, and) one ray of good were not visible in us? But, now, the lives of people are universally limited by death, in view of various advantages.[113] Again, (it is) not in one way, but for each one of the generations the number of years of their lives was reduced or increased. For those first (genera-**

109 Namely, God.

110 Namely, a given person.

111 Namely, God.

112 Namely, God.

113 The parallel Theodore text states, "[I]n the case both of martyrdom and of self-control, and along with it the reward for virtuous effort. You see, if we were naturally impassible, it would follow that we would not feel effort; but if there were no effort, we could not earn a reward, either … Once our thinking was humbled by our mortality, it followed that ailments also took effect, not only as a consequence of our natural mortality, but also as a reminder of death capable of producing a greater benefit. After all, if in the present situation despite the annoyance of ailments many people are guilty of such wrongdoing as to give no thought to death, much more likely is it that once rid of them they would never admit the remembrance of death into their minds" (εἴτε ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις, εἴτε καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐγκρατείας λόγῳ, ἀνῃρεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν πόνων ὁ μισθός. Ἀπαθοῦς μὲν γὰρ οὔσης τῆς φύσεως, πόνον ἀκολουθεῖν οὐκ ἐνεδέχετο · πόνων δὲ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐδὲ μισθὸν ἐκδέχεσθαι ἐνῆν … τῶν λογισμῶν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῆς θνητότητος ταπεινουμένων, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν καὶ τὰ μάθη κρατεῖν, οὐ μόνον καθὸ ἔπεσθαι τοῦτο ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει θνητῇ κατασκευασθείσῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθὸ ὑπόμνησις ὄντα τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ὠφέλειαν μείζονα ἐνεργάζεσθαι ἠδύνατο. Εἰ γὰρ νῦν, τῶν παθῶν διοχλούντων, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὕτω τὰ ἄτοπα διαπράττονται ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες ἐνθύμησιν τοῦ θανάτου, πολλῷ δήπουθεν τούτων ἀπηλλαγμένοι οὐδέποτ' ἂν εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλοντο τοῦ θανάτου τὴν μνήμην). See Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 472, col. 1, *15–24*, *29–34*; 474, col. 1, *1–8* (text) and 473, 475 (trans.).

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tions), he[114] **increased the length of their years, so that they would multiply by means of the succession of their years. But for the others, he**[115] **diminished the number of their years and weakened their (ability) to bear offspring. And perhaps, also, it was nature (itself), according to its own strength**, (that) proceeded according to these types, (namely) {4}[the first (humans) and the intermediate (ones) and the later (ones)] (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܘܡܨܥܝܐ ܘܐܚܪܝܐ), **until having already attained extreme old age and it became weak from the force of its course,**[116] like a web nearly ready to be cut off. {5}[And, also, (for) all those who belonged to each one of the generations, the number (of the years) of their lives is not equal] (ܟܕ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܗܘ ܒܟܠ ܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܗܝ). **In short, it appears from all (of these things) that the Creator has not fixed an equal length for each person, (concerning) how many (years) he will live. But he has confined all (people) equally under the limit and the measure of death. And because nature is mortal and perishable, any adverse cause that assaults it is able to deprive it of life.**[117] {6}[Thus,

114 Namely, God.

115 Namely, God.

116 The parallel Theodore text (for that which precedes and follows Aḥob fragment 4 above) states, "[I]n every case it is clear that those in the same period did not have equal life spans, which would not have been the case if God had allotted each one a life span, since in the same period he definitely would have maintained equal life spans. In fact, he assigned different life spans in different periods, giving advanced age in the beginning for an increase in the size of families through people's living longer, and rightly reducing the number of years in succeeding ages, perhaps because human nature has become weaker as time passed and can last a shorter time" (Πανταχόθεν γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν γενεὰν ἴσον ἔζων τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄν ἦν εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ἑκάστῳ τὴν ζωὴν ἐμέτρει · πάντως γὰρ ἂν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν γενεὰν ἐφύλαξε τὴν ἰσότητα. Κατὰ γὰρ τὰς γενεὰς διάφορον ἔθηκε τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἀριθμόν, τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ προσθήκην παρέσχεν ἐτῶν ὥστε πλεονάσαι τῇ πολυτεκνίᾳ, ἐπὶ μακρὸν βιούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων · προστιθεμένοις δὲ ἠλάττωσεν εἰκότως τὰ ἔτη, ἤ τάχα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις ἀσθενεστέρα ἑαυτῆς τῷ χρόνῳ γιγνομένη ἐπ' ἔλαττον διαρκεῖν ἰσχύει). See Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 474, col. 1, *17–32*; 476, col. 1, *1–2* (text) and 475, 477 (trans.).

117 The parallel Theodore text states, "God, of course, manages affairs by a certain plan, making our nature subject to a sentence of death … He limited the number of years he wanted our life to last … by allowing all persons to run the course of their own lives as their makeup permits, and the ailments natural to our mortal condition and the sickness and decease arising from circumstance to run their course in us, the result being that some have shorter lives than others" (Ὁ γάρ τοι Θεὸς λόγῳ τινὶ κρατίστης οἰκονομίας, θανάτου μὲν ἅπαξ ἀποφάσει τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ὑποβαλών … Τὸν δέ γε τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν, εἰς ὅν διαρκεῖν ἡμῶν ἠβουλήθη τὴν ζωήν … ἕκαστον ὡς ἄν ἔχοι κράσεως ἀποπληροῦν τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς ἀριθμὸν συγχωρήσας καὶ τὰ πάθη κρατεῖν ἐν ἡμῖν ἅτε δὴ ὡς ἐν φύσει θνητῇ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμπτωμάτων ἀρρωστίας τε καὶ θανάτους, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπ ἔλαττόν τινας ἑτέρων ζῆν συμβαίνει). See Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 470, *11–13*, *21*, col. 1, *24–34* (text) and 471 (trans.).

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he[118] formed nature so that it would not die together with its (physical) being, nor should it live without a limit. But according to the soundness and the insolubility of the mixture, life is stretched out or is cut short, etc.] (ܗܘ ܕܐ ܐܦ ܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܐ ܗ ܐ ܗ ܐ ܗ

lion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. Each verse (beginning with v. 5)[125] will be presented separately, and the order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Psalm 39:5

	Isho'dad (59, *17–18*)[126]	**Aḥob** (*7–9*)[127]
Fragment 1	"that the knowledge of the brevity of our lives is fixed in (human) nature, etc." (ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܚܝܝ̈ܢ ܩܨܝܪ̈ܐ ܡܬܬܟܝܢ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܫܪ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝ)	"that the knowledge of our lives is fixed in (human) nature" (ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܚܝܝ̈ܢ ܩܨܝܪ̈ܐ ܡܬܬܟܝܢ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܫܪ̈ܐ)

Psalm 39:6

	Isho'dad (60, *1, 2, 3, 3, 4, 5, 18, 20–21, 26–27* and *27*, 61, *1, 1* and *2, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6–7, 7, 8, 8–9, 10, 10–11*)	**Aḥob** (*15–16, 35, 36, 37, 38–39, 40, 41, 49–50, 51–53, 19–21* and *22, 23, 24–25, 25, 26–27, 28–29, 30–31, 31, 32–33, 53, 54–55, 55–57, 59, 60–61*)
Fragment 2	(Omits)	"*my days*, (as though) he should say" (ܝܘ̈ܡ̈ܝ ܐܡܪ̈ܝ)
Fragment 3	"had a (fixed) measure (of life)" (ܫܝܪ ܚܕ)	"had a (fixed) measure (of life)" (ܚܕ ܫܝܪ)
	"he should live" (ܢܚܝ)	"he should live" (ܚܝ)
	"and to another" (ܘܠܐܚܪ)	"and to another" (ܘܠ)

125 Isho'dad preserves the same Peshitta wording of Ps 39:4 as Aḥob's brief reference to it.

126 The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 59, *10*–61, *19*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

127 The text, English translation, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

	Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
	"he had given" (ܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܒ)	"he was giving" (ܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܒ)
	"would befall us" (ܠܢ ܐܬܐ ܥܠܝܢ ܠܡ)	"would befall us" (ܐܬܐ ܥܠܝܢ ܠܡ)
	"that" (ܕ)	"that" (ܕ ܡܢ)
Fragment 4	"and the intermediate (ones) and the later (ones)" (ܘܡܨܥܝܐ ܘܐܚܪܢܐ)	"with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones)" (ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܐܡ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܡܢ ܡܨܥܝܐ)
Fragment 5	"And, also, (for) all those who belonged to each one of the generations, the number (of the years) of their lives is not equal" (ܠܐ ܫܘܐ ܕܓܝܠ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܕܪ̈ ܕܓܝܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܕܪ̈ : ܐܦ)	"Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan" (ܠܐ ܫܘܐ ܕܓܝܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܕܪ̈ : ܐܢܫܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܕܪ̈)
Fragment 6	"Thus, he formed nature so that it would not die together with its (physical) being, nor should it live" (ܗܟܝ ܒܪܝܗ ܛܒܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܡܘܬ ܒܗ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܐ ... ܐܦ ܠܐ : ܛܒܥܐ)	"thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being. Nor should we live" (ܛܒܥܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܒܪܝܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܡܘܬ ܒܗ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܐ. ܛܒܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܐ ... ܐܦ ܠܐ)
	"the insolubility" (ܠܐ ܐܬܪܝ̈ܬܐ)	"the equality" (ܐܬܪ̈ܝܬܐ)
	(Uses in a Subsequent Fragment in this Verse)	"according to the functioning of nature" (ܠܦܘܩ ܛܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ)
	"is stretched out ... etc." (... ܡܬܡܬܚ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ)	"is stretched out" (ܡܬܡܬܚ)

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(*cont.*)

	Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
Fragment 7	"or just as a house" (ܐܘ ܐܦ ܒܝܬܐ)	"For just as a house" (ܐܝܟ ܓܝ ܟܕܢܐ)
	"according to the soundness of its structure, also" (ܐܦ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ ܐܦ)	"then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also" (ܐܦ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ ܐܦ ܟܕܢܐ)
	"bodies" (ܦܓܪܐ)	"the bodies of people" (ܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ)
	"the soundness of their structure" (ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ)	"their structure" (ܒܢܝܢܗ)
	"remain and endure, or, in proportion to" (ܩܝܡ ܘܩܐܡ ܐܘ ܠܦܘܩ)	"endure. In proportion to" (ܩܐܡ. ܠܦܘܩ)
	"according to the functioning of nature" (ܟܕܢܐ ܕܡܬܢܗܓ ܒܛܒܥ)	(Uses Earlier in this Verse)
Fragment 8	"And just as" (ܘܐܝܟ)	"For just as" (ܐܝܟ ܓܝ ܟܕܢܐ)
	"a change of air" (ܐܝܪܐ ܕܫܢܝ)	"a change of air" (ܐܝܪ ܫܢܝ)
	"blindness and the rest of the other afflictions … so" (ܥܝܘܪܐ ܘܫܪ ܟܕܢܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܐܚܪܢ ܟܕܢܐ)	"the afflictions of blindness and deafness, together with chances of sicknesses … so" (ܟܕܢܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܐܚܕ. ܫܡܥ ܘܫܪ ܟܕܢܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܐܚܪܢ ܥܡ. ܐܣܝܐ)
	"the providence of God" (ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ)	"the providence of God" (ܐܠܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ)
	"we do not know those (things) exactly" (ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܚܢ ܡܕ ܡܫ)	"for us, it is not given to us to know all things exactly" (ܠ ܐܬ ܠܢ ܡܫܠ ܠܡܕܥ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܚܢ ܠ ܠ ܟܠ)

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In his commentary on Ps 39:4–6, Isho'dad preserves eight fragments from Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, which accounts for roughly three quarters of this Aḥob scholion.[128] Setting aside the fact that Aḥob's only comment on Ps 39:4 is the Peshitta phrase "I thought with my tongue" (ܐܡܪ ܒܠܫܢܝ) and Isho'dad also uses this phrase (with additional commentary), these Aḥob fragments are found in Isho'dad's commentary on Ps 39:5–6. For v. 5, his only commentary is a reworked presentation of Aḥob's comments on the same verse, though he preserves a number of the same words. In v. 6, Isho'dad largely oscillates between phraseology and concepts found in Aḥob and Theodore's parallel commentary, though he certainly contributes his own ideas on the meanings and implications of the Peshitta text of v. 6 as well. While it is not highlighted in the Isho'dad translation above, Aḥob fragments 2–5, most of 6, and 7 present an abbreviated and reworked version of Theodore's commentary on the equivalent verse (i.e. Ps 38:6).[129] These bracketed sections of Isho'dad's text have not been put in boldface, because, while the underlying concepts are similar, the actual wording in these bracketed sections (as preserved by Isho'dad) is Aḥobian—not Theodorian—in nature. In other words, in each of these fragments, Isho'dad consistently gravitates to the wording of Aḥob's scholion, rather than to the wording of Theodore's commentary.

Concerning the presentation of these eight Aḥob fragments in vv. 5–6, Isho'dad inconsistently follows the order of Aḥob's logic (as is shown by the non-sequential line numbers of the parallel Aḥob fragments in the tables

128 The sections of Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, which were not used by Isho'dad, include the following from v. 5: "That is to say, I brought to memory what is my life and the end that is kept for me, that I might stand and condemn that which exists *today but* tomorrow departs. Now, that (phrase) … he says (to indicate) … *That I might know why I remain*, that is to say, not only is it not right for me to complain, as though about something which persists, but not even my remaining in this life is wanted by me, so that I should not see evils such as these" (ܐ ܠ ܗܝܠܝ ܕܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܕܝܘܡ ܠܝܘܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ... ܐܡ ܗ ܕܐܡܪ ... ܕܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡ ܐܦ ܠܝ ܠܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡ ܕ

above). He combines fragments 2 and 3, though if fragment 1 is restored to its original place (as is shown in the translation above) this would be extended to fragments 1–3; fragments 7 and 8 are also merged. Isho'dad inserts Aḥob fragment 4 into the midst of a reworked Theodore fragment. Aḥob fragment 6 is presented as a follow-up summary to Isho'dad's preceding summary of Theodore on the same topic, namely, that human nature cannot live forever but will die according to one's natural ability (or inability) to preserve and/or fight off anything that would rob it of life. It should also be noted that Isho'dad varies his approach to the preservation of these fragments: in fragments 1–4 and 6–8, he preserves many of the words or select phrases from their parallel Aḥob texts, while in fragment 5 he presents a summarized form of the parallel Aḥob text.

Isho'dad includes the majority of Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion in his commentary on these same verses, because he likely views it as both an authoritative gloss of v. 5 and as a convincing explanation of the theological difficulties posed by v. 6. His preference for Aḥob is acutely shown in Aḥob fragment 4, which is used (instead of Theodore), likely because Aḥob offers a quick summary of Theodore's wordy discussion of the three generations. While he certainly relies on Theodore as well to achieve his developed interpretation of v. 6, Isho'dad's use of Aḥob is more pronounced, both in the number and length of the combined fragments borrowed and in the intentional preservation of specific Aḥobian words and phrases on this verse.

4.1.9 *Psalm 40:8*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 40:8 states:

ܗܐ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ̈ܝ ܕܐܬܝܬ.	Then I said, "Behold! I have come.
ܒܪܫ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ	For in the beginning of the books
ܥܠܝ.	it is written about me."

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse[130] states:[131]

130 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 40:7. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 62, *18* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72.

131 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 62, *18*–63, *3*, states:
ܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܠܝ ܟܬ. ܒܪܫ ܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ̈ܝ ܕܐܬܝܬ ܒܪܫ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܥܠܝ ܟܬ ܐܡ

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> *Then I said, "Behold! I have come. That* (*which is*) *in the beginning."*[132] As soon as I had (conceived) such a thought—that it is the will, and nothing else, that you seek in order to bring me back from captivity—then I hoped and I expected that a return would occur for me, while beforehand I did not have this hope. And by this hope the memory of what is written about me *in the beginning of the books* and the sections of all the prophets (ܒܪܫ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܒܣܦܪ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ) was strongly imposed on me: you will return from captivity. (As for) *in the beginning of the books*, (that is) the Law (ܢܡܘܣܐ) in which it is written, "If you keep the Law, you will be blessed and you will be made prosperous."[133] Alternatively, (this is said) about Christ the Word, whose passion and resurrection and reign, etc. are written in the prophecy of Jacob.[134]

Since he presents the exact same phrase as Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion, a table presenting the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of this Aḥob scholion will not be given.

In his commentary on this verse, Isho'dad anonymously quotes Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion in its entirety.[135] Concerning his use of the Ps 40:8 Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" (ܒܪܫ ܕܟܬܒ), Isho'dad is likely aware that Theodore of Mopsuestia understood this phrase—which in the Greek states, "In the scroll of the book" (Ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου)[136]—as referring to the Old Testament prophetic books that prophesied about the exilic return of the Israelites.[137] However, he rejects the Theodorian notion that the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" itself refers to the prophetic books, and, instead, he suggests that it refers to the books at the beginning of the biblical canon,

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ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕ ׃ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܪܫ ׃ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܟܠ ܗܝ ׃

namely, the "Law" (ܢܡܘܣܐ). Since he interprets "in the beginning of the books" as a reference to the Law, he likely adds Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion—"the sections of all the prophets" (ܟܠ ܚܠܩ̈ܐ ܕܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ)—to his interpretation of the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" for two reasons: 1) Isho'dad believes (similarly to Aḥob) that many Old Testament books prophesied about the exilic return of the Israelites, and 2) Isho'dad seeks to include a reinterpreted presentation of Theodore's interpretation of this phrase, and he views its briefest summary as being encapsulated in Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion.[138] It is also worth noting that beyond his use of Aḥob, Isho'dad presents a Christological interpretation of this verse, something that Aḥob (at least in the present form of his Psalm 40:8 scholion)[139] does not do.

4.1.10 *Psalm 42:2*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 42:2 states:

ܟܡܐ ܕܡܬܝܩ ܥܠ ܐܦܝܩ̈ܐ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ.	As a stag calls out for a stream of water, thus, also my soul calls out to you, Lord.

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse[140] states:[141]

> *As a stag*, etc. For because stags (are) by their nature more hot and dry than the rest of the animals, they especially long for a drink *of water* when they have eaten of snakes and harmful reptiles, and the gall (of the snakes) pollutes the roof of their palate and it doubles the heat of their nature. And when they do not find *water*, they *call out* with profound suffering. It

138 The *DGC* texts of LMS arguably approach Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion in the same manner. See Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.7. Psalm 40:8.

139 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

140 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 42:1. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 64, *3* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 74.

141 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 64, *3–9*, states:

ܟܡ ܐܡܪ : ܡܢܝ ܕܚܝܬ ܒܥܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܝܠ ܡܫܬܘܩ ܥܠ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܟܕ ܫܪܝ ܡܢ ܫܪ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕܚܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܪ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܐܟܠ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܡܪ̈ܥܠ ܘܡܪ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܪܪ ܒܝ̈ܬ ܚܢܟ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܡܬܬ̈ܪ ܚܡܝܡܘܬ̈ܗ : ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܟ̈ܚ ܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܡܬܝܩ ܥܠ ܐܦܝܩ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ : ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܢܦܫܝ ܡܬܝܩ ܥܠ ܟ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܝ.

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> is appropriate (that David) made use of this example to make known his love for God. And he[142] seeks to be (granted) a return from Babylon.[143]

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (64, *3–4, 4, 5, 5, 6–7, 7–8, 8, 9*)[144]	**Aḥob** (*1–2, 3, 5, 6–10, 10–11*)[145]
"For because stags (are) by their nature (more) hot and dry" (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܕܛܒܥܝܗܘܢ ܚܡܝܡ ܘܝܒܫ)	"because, then, stags are by nature (more) dry and hot" (ܡܛܠ ܗܢ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܕܛܒܥܝܗܘܢ ܝܒܫ ܘܚܡܝܡ)
"especially" (ܒܪܝܫ)	"especially" (ܒܪܝܫ)
"when" (ܟܕ ܐ)	"when" (ܟܕ)
"snakes and" (ܘ ܚܝܐ)	(Does Not Use)
"and the gall (of the snakes) pollutes the roof of their palate and it doubles the heat of their nature" (ܚܝܐ ܕܡܪܪ ܘܡܛܢܦ ܥܠ ܣܡܟ ܦܘܡܗܘܢ ܘܡܟܦܠ ܠܚܡܝܡ ܕܛܒܥܗܘܢ)	"Like that which is the gall of snakes, which pollutes and adheres to the roof of their palate, it doubles upon them the heat which is in their nature" (ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܪ ܚܝܐ ܐ ܕܡܛܢܦ ܘܡܬܕܒܩ ܥܠ ܣܡܟ ܦܘܡܗܘܢ ܡܟܦܠ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܚܡܝܡ ܕܛܒܥܗܘܢ)
"And when they do not find *water*, they *call out* with profound suffering" (ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܡܝ ܩܪܝܢ ܒܡܪܝܪ ܥܩܬܐ)	(Does Not Use)

142 Namely, David.

143 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72.

144 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 64, *3–9*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

145 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
"(... David) made use of this example" (ܫܡܝܗ ܥܒܕ ܗܕܐ)	"by the example of *the stag*, (these things) were used" (ܫܡܝܗ ܐܠ ܥܒܕ)
"for God" (ܠܐܠܗ ܒܝܕ)	(Does Not Use)

In his commentary on this verse, Isho'dad anonymously quotes Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion almost entirely.[146] While he adds one sentence internally and slightly reworks other words and phrases, Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion is presented, in large part, as Isho'dad's commentary on this verse, revealing that he likely viewed it as the authoritative commentary on Ps 42:2. It is quite possible that Isho'dad preserves the original ending of this Aḥob scholion, namely, the prepositional phrase "for God" (ܠܐܠܗ ܒܝܕ), which functions as the object of David's love;[147] however, it is also possible that Isho'dad added this prepositional phrase in order to state what Aḥob merely implied in the abrupt ending of his scholion. The final sentence of Isho'dad's commentary on Ps 42:2 is not tied to Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion but is a reflection on the Ps 42 heading, which states, "Spoken by David, in the persona of the people in Babylon, (indicating) which (words) were fitting for them to say in the time of captivity" (ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܦܘܡ ܥܡܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܕܡܠܝܢ ܕܢܐܡܪܘ ܒܙܒܢ ܫܒܝ).[148]

4.1.11 *Psalm 45:9*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:9 states:

ܡܘܪ ܘܩܨܝܥܐ ܘܟܝܬ.	Myrrh and cassia and stacte
ܟܠ ܠܒܘܫܝܟ ܥܒܝܩ ܒܣܡ.	perfume all your garments.
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܫܝܢ	From the finest temple
ܒܪܝ ܫܒܚܘ ܠܟ.	and from my presence, they made you glad.

146 Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 74, n. 2.

147 Aḥob's extant Psalm 42:2 scholion ends abruptly.

148 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 74 (above n. 1). The Syriac text is taken from Van Rooy, *The East Syriac Psalm Headings*, 90.

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Isho'dad's relevant commentary on this same verse[149] states:[150]

> *From the finest temple*, that is to say, *from my* own *presence*, God, *they made you glad*, O Christ, (specifically) all the nations who build temples for your name and for the name of your martyrs. For by means of one temple, the Syriac indicates many (temples). Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, "ivory temples" (ܗܝܟܠ ܫܢ ̇ ܡܢ ̇ ܓܕ). [151] The Greek also (says), "From ivory palaces (and) from those who, in your honor, made you glad,"[152] (namely) the daughters of kings. Others (say), "When you rose from the grave and went up to heaven and were declared (to be) the Son of God, many will come to make you glad with hymns and praises which they will sing before you, inside adorned temples which are being built for the honor of your name and (that) of your martyrs, with many kinds of gold and precious stones, etc." This prophecy confirms every person in your faith, which I declared before you when I prophesied about your economy. For this (is what) he says in that (phrase) *from my presence*.[153]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of part of Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

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149 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 45:8. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 69, *13* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 79. Isho'dad comments on parts a and b of this verse, namely, "Myrrh and cassia and stacte perfume all your garments" (ܡܪ ܘܩܨܝܥܐ ܘܠܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܠܒܘܫܟ). However, for the purposes of this study, only his commentary on part c of this verse—"From the finest temple and from my presence, they made you glad" (ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܫܢ ̇ ܡܢ ̇ ܓܕ)—is relevant.

150 The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 69, *28*–70, *10*, states:

ܡܢ ̇ ܗܝܟܠ ܫܢ ̇ ܡܢ ̇ ܓܕ. ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܫܢ ̇ ܡܢ ̇ ܓܕ ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ

Isho'dad (70, 2)[154]	**Aḥob** (*1–2, 2–5*)[155]
"Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory temples'" (ܫܠܟ ׃ ܥܝܢܐ ܒܬ̈ܐ ܥܒܕ ܡܫܟ̈ܐ ׃ ܥܒܕ)	"Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory'" (ܥܝܢܐ ܒܬ̈ܐ ܥܒܕ ׃ ܥܒܕ ܫܠܟ)
(Omits)	"Here, the grammatical point was changed and this letter, which (was) a nun, was shortened. *Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar. But *cassia* (is) peeled-off rind" (ܗܕܐ ܣܝܡ ❖ ܢ̈ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܢ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܩܨܪ ܫܡܗ ܕܥܒܪ ܗܘ ❖ ܩܛܘܦ ܩܛܝܦܐ. ܩܠܝܦܐ ܕܩܠܣܐ)

Though he does not name him, Isho'dad is likely relying, in part,[156] on Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion for his own commentary on this verse.[157] It is quite likely that Isho'dad had the entire scholion at his disposal; however, only the Hebrew reading interested him and, as a result, he preserves this one phrase alone. He slightly develops this phrase from Aḥob's scholion, in that he rearranges some of its word order and adds the plural noun "temples" (ܡܫܟ̈ܐ), which the transliterated Hebrew adjective "ivory" (ܥܒܕ) describes.

154 The text, page, and line number are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 69, *28*–70, *10*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

155 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

156 Molenberg speculates that Isho'dad uses a source, beyond Theodore and the possibility of Isho' bar Nun, in this verse. However, she does not name this source. See idem, "The Interpreter Interpreted," 253.

157 Ter Haar Romeny hints at these parallels but does not develop their specifics. See idem, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 450 and n. 67.

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4.1.12 *Psalm 68:14*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:14 states:

ܐܢ ܬܫܟܒ ܒܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܟ̈	If you should lie down among the thorns,
ܟܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ ܒܟܣܦ ܘܒܝܪܩ ܕܗܒ ܡܦܠܚ ܢܬܝܪ̈ܝܗ.	the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver
ܘܒܥܝܩ ܕܗܒ ܡܨܪܦ ܫܥܪ̈ܗ.	and its feathers with refined gold.

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse[158] states:[159]

> *If you should lie down among the thorns, the wings* (*of a dove*), that is to say, before we would inherit the land, God had promised us these (things), "When you should dwell in peace, as in the rest of sleep"—when the *thorns*, which are the enemies who have surrounded you, will be removed, that is to say, in the time of Solomon (Scripture says), "The Lord gave him rest on all his sides,"[160]—then the house of the Lord will be built and it (will) have beautiful carvings, which *are overlaid with gold and with* silver. Again, like one (who) will ask when this will be fulfilled, he[161] answers, "When you should dwell in peace and the *thorns* (ܟ̈ܚܘܡܐ) will be removed," and the rest which (is written) above. Instead of *among the*

158 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 68:13. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 101, *17* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 112.

159 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 101, *17*–102, *9*, states:

ܐܢ ܬܫܟܒ ܒܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܟ̈ ܕܐܡ ܕܟܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ ܒܟܣܦ ܘܒܝܪܩ ܕܗܒ ܡܦܠܚ ܢܬܝܪ̈ܝܗ ܕܗ̇ ܐܡܪ ܕܥܕ ܕܢܪܬ ܐܢܫ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܕܐܢ ܬܫܟܒ ܒܫܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܢܘܡܐ ܕܠܝܠܝܐ ܕܒ̈ܝ ܢܬܒܛܠ ܟ̈ܚܘܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܓܢܒ̈ܝܟ ܐܝܬ̈ܝܢ ܐܝ ܕܒ̈ܝ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܢܫܪܐ ܠܗ ܝܗ̇ܘܐ ܡܢܘܚ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܣܒ̈ܝܒ̈ܘܗܝ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܒ̈ܝ ܐܬܒܢܐ ܘܢܗ̇ܘܐ ܠܗ ܫܦܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܥܬ̈ܝܕ ܕܢܗ̇ܘܐ ܒܗ

> *thorns*, the Hebrew says, "among the manure pile" (ܒܝܢ ܫܦ̈ܬ̈ܝܡ ∴ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܒܝܢ ܡܥܠ̈ܡ̈ܐ ∴ ܣܘܪ̈ܝܐ), [162] that is to say, although you thought, "we would be lacking from possessions," etc., "I (will) bring you such stillness and splendor that, from the many riches which you plundered from the nations, you will play and you will take pleasure in silver doves, which are mixed with gold, according to the custom of rich (people)." But from all (possible) images he set down (in writing) only *the wings of doves*, because this surpassing sight is splendid and beautiful when (it is) interwoven with gold and shines from afar. Instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, "between the lots" (ܒܝܢ ܟ̈ܦ̈ܬ̈ܝ ∴ ܣܒܥܝܐ ∴ ܫܒܥܝ). [163] But Symmachus (says), "among the inheritances." Again, by means of the dove, he brings to memory the sacrifice of Abraham, who, with other animals, also offered a dove (as) an indication that all these (things that were done) there received fulfillment. But, again, (it is also) because the dove is the most beautiful among birds. [164]

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (101, *25*, 102, *4*)[165]	**Aḥob** (*1*, *2–3*)[166]
"The Hebrew" (ܥܒܪܝܐ)	"But … the Hebrew" (ܐܡ ܥܒܪܝܐ)
"The Greek" (ܣܒܥܝܐ)	"But … the Greek" (ܐܡ ܣܒܥܝܐ)

In Isho'dad's commentary on this verse, he anonymously quotes Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion almost entirely, [167] likely because it offers alternative sources for

162 The Hebrew of this phrase, as used in MT Ps 68:14, is בֵּין שְׁפָתָיִם.

163 The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 67:14, is μέσον τῶν κλήρων.

164 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 112.

165 The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 101, *17*–102, *9*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

166 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

167 Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 112, n. 15 and 113, n. 16.

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understanding the meaning of the difficult Peshitta "thorns" (ܣܟܘܟ) in this verse. The only syntactical aspect of Aḥob's scholion that Isho'dad changes is that he removes the twice-used conjunction "But" (ܐܠܐ), which introduces both sentences in this Aḥob scholion. Concerning its presentation, Isho'dad divides this Aḥob scholion between its Hebrew and Greek readings and inserts them in separate places within his own commentary on this verse. While his inclusion of Aḥob's Hebrew reading seems to be appropriately situated, his placement of Aḥob's Greek reading is arguably out of place, suggesting that, at least, this part of Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion was—in its originality—a marginal scholion.[168]

4.1.13 *Psalm 68:16–17*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:16–17 states:

ܐܠܗܐ ܛܘܪܐ [16]	[16] mountain of God.
ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ	Mountains of Bashan! Mountains
ܓܒܢܝ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܝ.	of Gebanyam! Mountains of Bashan!
ܠܡܐ ܡܕܝ ܐܬ [17]	[17] What (do) you want
ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܝ. ܛܘܪܐ	in the mountains of Gebanyam, the mountain
ܕܐܬ ܒܗܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡ ܐܬܪ.	in which God chose to dwell?
ܐܦ ܝܗ ܢܫܟܢ ܠܥܠܡ.	The Lord will dwell in it forever.

Isho'dad's commentary on these same verses[169] states:[170]

168 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

169 Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 68:16 only. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 102, *26* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 113.

170 The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 102, *26*–103, *10*, states:

ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܬܠܗܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܬܪܡ ܡܠܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܬ ܛܘܪܐ ܕ [16] ,ܐ
ܐܐ ܐܡܪ ܐ ׃ ܓܒܢܝ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܫܡܐ ܡܫܡܐ ܕܐ ܐܬܪ ܐܬܪ ܐ
ܐܡܪ ܐ ׃ ܐܬܪ ܐ ׃ ܐ ׃ ܐ ׃

> That (phrase) [16] *mountains of Bashan* (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ), etc. By (mentioning) these mountains, which are close to the promised land, he speaks about the peoples surrounding them, who are strong and prosperous like the *mountains of Bashan* and *Gebanyam*, as if they madly envied this people who were recently planted among them and (who) prevailed over them and surpassed all of them by their prosperity. [17] *Why* did you meditate against this people, while wishing to eradicate them? *The mountain which* (*God*) *chose*, etc. Although you sought thousands of times to harm them, it is impossible that they should be hurt, in that God made them his home forever. In the Greek there is no [16] *Bashan* and no *Gebanyam* but "Fat mountains, curdled mountains" (ܛܘܪ ܫܡܝܢ ܛܘܪ ܕܓܒܢ ܛܘܪ ܕܚܬܝܪ ܛܘܪ ܕܓܒܢ ܛܘܪ ·. ܫܡܝܢ),[171] that is to say, that (which) is full of milk (ܚܠܒ). Symmachus (says), "of fine nourishment." The Hebrew says, "Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?" etc. (ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܥܒܪܝܐ ܛܘܪ ܕܒܫܢ ·. ܐܝܟ).[172]

The following tables present the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. Each verse will be presented separately, and the order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Psalm 68:16

Isho'dad (103, *9* and *10*)[173]	**Aḥob** (*1* and *2*, *3–5*)[174]
"The Hebrew says" (ܐܝܟ ... ܐܡܪ)	"But the Hebrew clearly says" (ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܠܐ ... ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ)

171 The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 67:16, is ὄρος πῖον, ὄρος τετυρωμένον.

172 The Hebrew of this phrase, as used in MT Ps 68:16–17, is הַר־בָּשָׁן: 17 לָמָּה תְּרַצַּדוּן. My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 113–114. All of the attached pronoun references to "people" (ܥܡܐ)—namely the Israelites—have been changed from the singular to the plural in this text, making them more consistent with English conventions of referencing a people group.

173 The text, page, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 102, *26*–103, *10*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

174 The text, English translation, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
(Uses Similar Phraseology from Another Source)	"But the Greek says, 'Fat mountains, mountains of curd'" (ܟܬܝܒ ܕܝܢ ܪܘܡ ܛܘܪ ܒܫܢ ܛܘܪ ܟܘܬܪ)

Psalm 68:17

Isho'dad (103, *10*)	**Aḥob** (*3*)
"you arguing? etc." (ܡܓܐܕܠ ܐܢܬ)	"you arguing?" (ܐܢܬ)

In his commentary on these verses, Isho'dad anonymously quotes part of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion, specifically his Hebrew reading,[175] arguably because it presents an alternative source for understanding the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "mountains of Bashan" (ܛܘܪ ܕܒܫܢ). He only changes minor aspects of Aḥob's scholion, such as removing the conjunction "but" (ܕܝܢ) and the adverb "clearly" (ܒܗܝܡ), as well as adding the adverb "etc." (ܡܓܐܕܠ). Isho'dad presents a Greek reading in this verse that is comparable to the parallel Greek reading in Aḥob's scholion; however, Isho'dad's wording arguably derives from Theodore, not from Aḥob, especially with its added reference to "milk" (ܚܠܒ) which is used by Theodore but not by Aḥob.[176] Isho'dad likely preserves a reworked citation of Theodore's Greek reading, rather than Aḥob's, in this verse, because Theodore (unlike Aḥob) offers some interpretive comments on this Greek phrase, a phrase which Isho'dad sought not only to present but also to briefly discuss. Furthermore, Isho'dad likely reverses the Aḥobian order (which is Hebrew reading then Greek reading) to Greek reading then

175 Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 114, n. 23.

176 Theodore's Greek text states, "Curdled mountain, fat mountain … which by nature does not revert to milk" (Ὄρος τετυρωμένον, ὄρος πῖον … ὅς μὴ πέφυκεν αὖθις ἀναλύειν εἰς γάλα), while Aḥob's scholion simply states "Fat mountains, mountains of curd" (ܛܘܪ ܫܒܢ ܛܘܪ ܟܘܬܪ). See Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 874, *14*, *15–16* (text) and 875 (trans.) and Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion, *3–4*.

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Hebrew reading, arguably because he views the Greek reading as more interesting (and therefore likely more important) than the Hebrew reading, which he uses as a corrective for the Peshitta "mountains of Bashan [17] what (do) you want" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܡܢܐ [17] ܨܒܝܬ ܥܒܕ).

4.1.14 *Psalm 104:2–3*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 104:2–3 states:

ܠܒܫ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ [2]	[2] He was clothed (in) light as (with)
ܠܒܫ ܕܡܫܪ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܛܐ.	a cloak; he stretched out heaven like
ܕܡܫܟ ܩܪܝܢ [3] ܒܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܢ	a curtain. [3] On the waters he constructed
ܕܡܫܟ ܠ ܡܥܠ ܡܕܝܪܗ.	his habitations,[177] and upon the clouds he placed
ܕܡ ܠ ܪܟܒܗ ܡܗܠܟ	his chariot and he walks upon
ܥܠ ܟܢܦܝ ܪܘܚܐ.	the wings of the wind.

Isho'dad's relevant commentary on these same verses[178] states:[179]

> (You) [2] *stretched out heaven*. [3] *On the waters he constructed his habitations*.[180] By this (phrase) he[181] declares the swiftness of the (Divine) Command in the creation of the (firmament) and not its form. [2] *Like* someone who stretches out the *curtain* of a tent, thus you *stretched out* the firmament with ease and swiftness. But concerning the swift (creation) of

177 The plural noun + 3ms suffix ܡܕܝܪܗ could also be translated as "his floors."

178 Isho'dad comments on v. 2b and all of v. 3. However, for the purposes of this study, only his commentary on vv.2b–3a—"he stretched out heaven like a curtain. On the waters he constructed his habitations" (ܕܡܫܟ ܩܪܝܢ ܒܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܢ. ܡܕܝܪܗ ܠ ܡܥܠ ܕܡܫܪ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܛܐ)—is relevant.

179 The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 147, *8–21*, states:

ܕܡܫܟ ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܠܠܡ ܠ ܡܕܝܪܗ ܩܪܝܢ ܒܡܝܐ [3] ܕܡܫܪ ܫܡܝܐ [2]
ܩܪܝܡ ׃ ܩܕܝܫܬ ܡܕܒܪܢ ܐܝܟ ܠ ܒܪ ܡܢ [2] ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠ ܐܠ ׃ ܕܡܐ
ܩܕܡܝܐ ܩܠܝܠ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܘܡ ܠ ܡܕܝܪ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܠܠܡ ܕܡܠܠ
ܬܚܠ ܥܡ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܢ ܥܡ ܡܕܒܪܢ ܕܡܫܟ ܠ ܚܫܚܐ ܠ ܡܫܡ ܡܕܝܪ ܩܕ
ܕܡܕܒܪ ܩܕܡ ܕܡܠܟ ܐܡ. ܕܡܘܫ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܠ. ܐܝܟ
ܩܕܡ ܠ ܐܝܟ ܒܢ ܐܠ ܡ ܩܕܡ ܠ. ܥܒܕ ܡܐܠ ׃ ܐܠ ܕܡܫ
ܩܝܡ ܩܕܡ ܐܡ ܩܒ ׃ ܠ ܐܠ ܡ ܐܠ ׃ ܕܡܫ ׃
[3] ׃ ܩܐ. ܕܡܫ ܐܡ ܩܕܡ ܠ ܐܠ ܠ ܩܒ ׃ ܕܡܫ ׃ ܐܠ
ܡܠܠ ܕܡܫ ܐܡ ܩܕܡ ܥ ܠ ׃ ܩܒ ׃ ׃ ܡܕܝܪ ׃ ܩܕ ׃ ׃ ׃
.ܕܡܫ

180 Or "*his floors*."

181 Namely, David.

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> the world and the form it has through the Command of its Maker, let the little bubbles which are born suddenly from drops of rain instruct us. And let no one blame the smallness of the example, for behold! *The kingdom of heaven* is compared with *a mustard seed* and consider the properties of *mustard*.[182] But concerning the upper heaven it is said that *he stretched out heaven like a vault*[183] or (like) a canopy that is above the roof. But this is the habitation[184] of that one, just as the region above it will be in the place of the upper floors, in relation to this lower empty space. The Greek (says), [3] "You covered its floors with water,"[185] that is to say, you covered the place, which (is) above this visible heaven, with water.[186]

The following tables present the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. Each verse will be presented separately, and the order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Psalm 104:2

Isho'dad (147, *8–11, 11–15, 15–17, 17–19*)[187]	**Aḥob (*1–5* and *8–10*, *5–8* and *10–13* and *14–21* and *24–25*, *21–23*)**[188]
"By this (phrase) he declares the swiftness of the (Divine) Command in the creation of the (firmament) and not its form. [2] *Like* someone who stretches out the *curtain* of a tent, thus you *stretched out* the firmament	"For, indeed, he says (*he stretched out heaven like*) *a curtain*, not (in order) to make known the form of its setting up, but he proclaims the swiftness of its construction … But he says this concerning (that) which is this visible

182 Matt 13:31; Mark 4:30–31; Luke 13:18–19.

183 Isa 40:22.

184 Or "floor."

185 The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 103:3, is ὁ στεγάζων ἐν ὕδασιν τὰ ὑπερῷα αὐτοῦ.

186 My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 161.

187 The text, page, and line numbers for the tables in this subsection are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 147, *8–21*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

188 The text, English translation, and line numbers for the tables in this subsection are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
with ease and swiftness" (ܗܠܠܘ ܕܠ ܡܠܐ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܒܬܟ ܒܗܒܝܬ ܟܝܢ ܒܗܪ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܥܠ [2] .ܒܬܒܒ ܕܠ ܟܗܠܠܝܬ ܟܬܒ ܀ ܟܬܒܬ ܟܗܒ ܟܗܠܠܐ)	firmament" (.ܒܟ ܟܗܒ.ܟ ܒܟ ܠܐ .ܟܒ ܒܗܒܒ ܟܒܒ ܕܠ ܟܬ ... ܒܟ ܒܠ ܗܠܠ ܕܠ ܟܬ ܟܒ ,ܒܗܒ.ܒܟ ,ܒܠ ܟ ܟܒ)
"But concerning the swift (creation) of the world and the form it has through the Command of its Maker, let the little bubbles which are born suddenly from drops of rain instruct us. And let no one blame the smallness of the example, for behold! *The kingdom of heaven* is compared with *a mustard seed* and consider the properties of *mustard*" (ܟܠܬ ܟܠ ܡ ܡ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܡ ܟ ܟ ܟ

(*cont.*)

Ishoʿdad	**Aḥob**
	whole of its own roof ... and (it is like) the shape of a canopy (which) surrounded all creation" (ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܟܠܗ ... ܕܐܝܟ ܕܦܪܣܐ ܕܣܟܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܝܬܗ ... ܘܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܬ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܕܫܦܠ ܐܬ ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܠܥܠ ... ܗܘ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕ

(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
(Omits)	"But this (visible firmament, which is) in a round shape, (is) circular in the middle and is level from every place, so that the waters, which are above, should not slip away or fall down from its highest ridge. An example to consider, which (is) like this, (is found) in the sanctuary of churches, which in the shape of the exalted heaven rises (over) the whole (church). And under its own dome a level roof rises and does not form a dome which is the ceiling for the floor (of the sanctuary)" (ܗܝ ܕܐ ܕܟܝܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫ ܩܕܫ ܕܟܠܗ ܕܟܠܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫ ܕܟܢܝܫܬ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܟܠ ܕܡܝ ܕܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܢܙܠܘ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܠܘ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܓܒܗ ܕܟܠ ܕܡܝ ܕܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܢܙܠܘ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܠܘ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܓܒܗ ܕܟܠ ܕܡܝ ܕܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܢܙܠܘ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܠܘ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܓܒܗ)

In his commentary on these verses, Isho'dad anonymously quotes several sections of Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion,[189] likely because he views them as a broadly authoritative explanation of vv. 2–3 of Ps 104. However, as the above tables reveal, he does not simply include several phrases verbatim from Aḥob's scholion; rather, he preserves the general progression of Aḥob's scholion (albeit in a noticeably reworked manner), as well as several of the same non-Peshitta words and phrases, which include the following: "the lightness/swiftness of" (ܩܠܝܠܘܬ ܕܠ), "firmament" (ܪܩܝܥܐ), "it is said" (ܐܡܪ), "vault" (ܟܦܬܐ),

189 Van den Eynde suggests that Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion is "a counterpart" (un pendant) to Isho'dad's commentary on these verses. However, he does not develop the specifics of his assertion. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 161, n. 1.

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"roof" (ܟܠܠܐ), "above it" (ܡܢ ܠܥܠ), and "visible" (ܚܙܝܐ). Similar wording/phraseology is also used:

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
"the creation of the (firmament)" (ܒܪܝܬܐ)	"its construction" (ܒܢܝܢܗ)
"the upper heaven" (ܠܥܠ ... ܫܡܝܐ)	"exalted heaven" (ܪܡܐ ܫܡܝܐ)
"canopy" (ܩܒܐ)	"canopy" (ܩܒܐ)
"lower" (ܬܚܬܐ)	"under it" (ܡܢܬܚܘܗܝ)

Whereas Aḥob states that the "exalted heaven" could not have been "stretched out" (ܫܚܐ) in the form of a vault, Isho'dad disagrees with him. However, instead of stating this outright, he implicitly asserts his position without attacking Aḥob at this point. In a similar way, Isho'dad ignores Aḥob's description of the church sanctuary, which functions as an illustrative way of envisioning the various levels of creation.[190] Isho'dad also adds a Greek reading as an alternative way to understand the phraseology of v. 3, something Aḥob does not include in his extant Psalm 104:2–3 scholion.

4.1.15 *Psalm 105:19*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 105:19 states:

ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܬ ܟܠܡܗ.	until his word was loosed.[191]
ܟܠܡܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܢܬܗ.	The word of the Lord examined him.

190 Is it possible that Isho'dad does not use Aḥob's description of the church sanctuary, because the local ninth-century church sanctuary/sanctuaries that Isho'dad was familiar with looked noticeably different than Aḥob's localized sixth-century description, thus making it irrelevant for Isho'dad's commentary on Ps 104:2–3?

191 The verb ܐܬܬ can also be translated as "was verified." See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 167.

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Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse states:[192]

> That (phrase) *until his*[193] *word was loosed*, that is to say, (Joseph) was imprisoned *until* it pleased God to confer a release to his situation. Others (say), "*Until* the *word* of God *was verified* concerning him,[194] for (it is) not due to (Joseph's) evil (that) he[195] punished him or turned away from him (ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܘ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܐܬܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ), but on account of (it being) a trial." The Greek (says), "Until his[196] word came to pass."[197]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 105:17–19 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (152, *23*)[198]	**Aḥob** (*1–2*, *2–4* **and** *5–7*)[199]
"or turned away" (ܫܒܩ ܐܘ)	"God … and turned away" (ܐܠܗܐ ܫܒܩ ܘ)
(Omits)	"that he might be [17] *sold*, [18] *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles* … [19] *the word of the Lord examined*

192 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 152, *21–24*, states:
ܘܥܕ ܠܥܠܢ ܐܬܐ ܡܠܬܗ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܫܕܪ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܐܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܥܕ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܦ
ܐܘ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܐܬܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ. ܐܚܪܢ ܐܡܪܝ ܡܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܘܐܬܝܡ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܝܫܬܗ. ܘܐܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܘ
ܡܢ ܡܛܠ ܡܠܬܗ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܘܐܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܘ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܐܬܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܣܝܘܢܐ. ܘܐܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܘ
ܡܢ ܡܛܠ ܡܠܬܗ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܘܐܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܘ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܐܬܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܣܝܘܢܐ. ܘܐܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܘ
ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܘ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܐܬܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܣܝܘܢ

(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	Aḥob
	him. But he says *his word* with regard to his purpose concerning him" (ܕܒܪܗ ܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܟܠܡ ܥܠ ܥܠܘܗܝ ... ܡܝܬܝܪ ܕܡܬܟܠܡ ܡܝܬܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ...)

While he does not refer to him by name, Isho'dad likely references Aḥob, specifically his Psalm 105:17–19 scholion, (along with, at least, one other anonymous author) by the cryptic term "others" (ܐܚܪܢ).[200] However, whereas Aḥob commented on vv. 17–19 of Ps 105, Isho'dad discusses v. 19 alone. Interestingly, Isho'dad only includes the near verbatim brief introductory summary section and the conjunction "But" (ܐܠܐ) of this Aḥob scholion, rather than the specific part that focuses on v. 19. The simplest explanation as to why Isho'dad selected this section of Aḥob's Psalm 105:17–19 scholion for inclusion in his commentary is that he perceived it as being an authoritative alternative explanation for the Peshitta verb ܫܪܐ, which (as Isho'dad highlights) can mean both "was loosed" and "was verified." In a similar way, he likely disregards the rest of this Aḥob scholion, because it does not offer any insights on this particular Peshitta verb.

4.1.16 *Psalm 110 Prologue*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:1 states:

ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܪܝ,	The Lord said to my Lord,
ܬܘܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ. ܥܕ ܐܫܝܬ ܒܥܠܝ.	"Sit at my right hand,
ܕܐܢ ܐܫܝܡ ܒܥܠܝܟ ܬܘܠܐ ܪܓܠܝܟ.	until I should set your enemies (as) a footstool for your feet."

Isho'dad's Ps 110 Prologue states:[201]

200 Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 167, n. 4.

201 The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 157, 22–158, 8, states:

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But this psalm was not spoken by David about Abraham, nor by the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca (ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܦ ܥܒܕ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܪܒܩܐ), as it were, to Isaac, the son of his master,[202] as the Jews (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ) think. But (it was spoken) about Christ, our Lord, (which) is evident even from the beginning of the psalm. Since in the Hebrew language, there are four letters by which alone the name "God" and "Lord" are written (ܡܛܠ ܕܒܠܫܢ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘܬ ܕܒܗܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܢ ܟܬܝܒ ܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܣܡܟܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܗܢ ܐܬܘܬ ܐܠܐ ܗܟܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܠܡܪܝ ܗܘ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܗܢ ܐܬܘܬ ܒܗܕ ܟܬܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗܒܪܝܐ ܢ̇ܘܡ ̇ܒ̇ ̇ܝ̇ ̇ܡ̇ ̇ܝ̇ ̇ܢ̇ ̇ܒ̇ ̇ܫ̇ ̇ܒ̇ ̇ܝ̇ ̇ܡ̇ ̇ܝ̇ ̇ܢ̇ ̇ܠ̇ ̇ܡ̇ ̇ܪ̇ ̇ܝ̇ ̇ܐ̇ ̇ܠ̇ ̇ܗ̇ ̇ܐ̇ ̇ܕ̇ ̇ܝ̇ ̇ܢ̇ ̇ܐ

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (157, *23*, *24*, *25*–158, *1*, *1–4*)[207]	**Aḥob** (*9–11*, *8* and *8*, *14–22*, *22–28*, *1–6*, *6–8*, *8* and *9*, *12–13*)[208]
"by the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca" (ܡܢ ܚܒܪ ܥܒܕ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܡܚܙܝ ܠܪܒܩܐ)	"in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca" (ܒܦܪܣܘܦ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܡܚܙܝ ܠܪܒܩܐ)
"the Jews" (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ)	"the stupid Jews" (ܛܦܫܝ̈ܐ ... ܝܗܘܕܝܐ)[209]
"from the beginning of the psalm. In the Hebrew language, there are four letters by which alone the name 'God' and 'Lord' are written" (.ܒܪܫ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܗܢ ܒܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘ̈ܬ ܕܒܗܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢ ܘܩܪܝ ܐܢ)	"by the beginning of the psalm, in that it is confessed by them, that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*" (ܐܢ ܐ̇ ܒܪܫ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܗܢ ܕܡܬ ܒܗ ܕܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘ̈ܬ ܕܒܗܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢ ܘܩܪܝ ܐܢ ܐ̇ ܐܢ ܐ̇ ܒܪܫ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܗܢ ܕܡܬ ܒܗ ܕܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘ̈ܬ ܕܒܗܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢ ܘܩܪܝ ܐܢ)
"and if there is (someone who) is called 'Lord' by human authority, (the name) is not written with these letters. But,	"whenever (a person) wants to call God by the name *my Lord* or *the Lord*, just as here (in this psalm) they also tell (the ones)

207 The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 157, *22*–158, *8*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

208 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

209 Aḥob does state "the Jews" (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ) as well. See Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, *6*.

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(*cont.*)

Isho'dad	**Aḥob**
here, (with regard) to *Lord* and (with regard) to *my Lord*, the two (names) were written in the same way with these letters" (ܗܪܟܠܐ ܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܡܪܝ ܥܠ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܠܡܪܝ ܕܝ ܘܟܬܒ ܒܐܬܘܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܡܪܝ ܘܠܡܪܝ ܕܝ

Jewish idea that Abraham's servant spoke this psalm when he went to betroth Rebecca to Isaac should be rejected). Like Aḥob, Isho'dad also uses select words from Ps 110:1—such as *Lord* (ܡܪܝ) and *my Lord* (ܠܡܪܝ)—to establish the fact that Ps 110 as a whole should be understood as Messianic. However, whereas Aḥob only mentions that there are four letters by which "God" (ܐܠܗܐ) can be written, Isho'dad discusses these four letters and then provides the transliterated text of the Hebrew. While his first Aḥobian fragment, as well as his usage of the word "Jews" (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ), is either nearly the same or identical with Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, Isho'dad's final two Aḥobian fragments only utilize similar vocabulary and some comparable phraseology to that which is found in Aḥob's equivalent text, though the first of these two fragments arguably uses more Aḥobian words and phrases than does the latter. In both of these fragments, Isho'dad noticeably reworks Aḥob's equivalent text. It should also be noted that he omits several parts of Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, likely because they did not interest him. This would include his dismissal of Aḥob's pointed descriptor of the Jews as "stupid" (ܥܬܝܗ).

4.1.17 *Psalm 110:3*

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:3 states:

ܥܡܟ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܫܦܝܪܝܢ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܝܠܟ.	Your people will be glorious on the day of power,
ܒܗܕܪܝ ܩܕܫܐ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܫܚܪ.	in the splendors of holiness from the womb.
ܐܝܬ ܝܠܕܬܟ ܠܟ ܒܪܝܫ ܝܘܡܝ.	From the first, I begot you, a child.

Isho'dad's relevant commentary on this same verse[210] states:[211]

210 Isho'dad comments on all of v. 3. However, for the purposes of this study, only his commentary on v. 3c—"From the first, I begot you, a child" (ܐܝܬ ܝܠܕܬܟ ܠܟ ܒܪܝܫ ܝܘܡܝ)—is relevant.

211 The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 159, *22*–160, *12*, states:

ܐܝܬ ܝܠܕܬܟ ܠܟ ܒܪܝܫ ܝܘܡܝ. ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕ

From the first, I begot you, a child. He says (it) as if from the person of the Father to the Son, that is to say, God the Word is eternally generated from the Father, without beginning and (is) beyond time (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܠܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪܐ). For if there was something before him, that (phrase), *From the first*, would not have been said to him. And it resembles that (phrase), *I am the first, and I am the last*,[212] that is to say, without beginning and without end. And because these (ones) who are born among us strip off the youth in which they were born, and they grow old and became fathers of other (people), he called him a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed (from) his being a Son, as we (do) (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܘܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܘܐܡ), but he remains eternally in the youth and in the strength of his birth. Alternatively, this holy body, in which God the Word appeared at the end of days, was set apart and prepared for this glorious economy, even before the foundation of the world, as Peter said, *This* (*one*)[213] *who was set apart for this by the foreknowledge and by the will of God*,[214] etc. And also Paul: *The mystery which was hidden for ages* and generations *in God, who created every* (*thing*).[215] And again: *We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery*, in *that it was hidden, and he set it apart before* (*the ages*),[216] etc. (from) other (passages as well). For if his birth in a body had not been indicated and prepared beforetime and from eternity, from what (source) were David and the rest of the prophets able to prophesy concerning him generations beforehand? The Greek (says), "From the womb, before the morning star, I begot you" (ܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܬ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ ܝܠܕ ܠܟ ׃ ܫܪܪ),[217] that is to say, before the sun.[218]

ܐܬܟܢܝ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܐ ׃ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܝܫܝܢ ܐܬܠܝ ܐܡܪ ܫܡܐ ܡܛ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܘܐܝܠܦ ܒܝܕܝ ܐܢܐ ׃ ܐܬܠܝ ܡܐܬܝܬ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܠܐ ׃ ׃ ܐܬܡܫܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܬܠܝ ׃ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܐܬܝ ܒܫܘܬܦܐ ܐܝܟ ׃ ܐܡܪ ܒܪܐ ܒܝܕ ׃ ׃ ׃

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (159, *24*, *29*, 160, *11* and *11*)[219]	**Aḥob** (*2–4*, *9*, *5* and *6*, *1–2*)[220]
"without beginning and (is) beyond time" (ܕܠܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܕܢ ܐܬܝ)	"he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time)" (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܫܥܝܢ ܘܙܒܢ.ܕܐܬܝ)
"is changed" (ܕܐܫܬܚܠܦ)	"is changed from" (ܡܢ ܫܚܠܦ)
"The Greek (says) … before" (… ܕܝܘܢܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ)	"But the Greek says … and before" (ܕܝܘܢܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ … ܐܡܪ ܕ)
(Likely Omits)	"The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and" (: ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܟܝܢ ܐܒ ܘܡܢ ܟܝܢ ܐܒܐ.ܕ)

In his commentary on Ps 110:3, Isho'dad anonymously quotes three fragments of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, likely because he views them as an authoritative explanation of v. 3. The first fragment is quite reworked, and it is unclear why Isho'dad did not favor Aḥob's specific wording at this point. Isho'dad's second and third fragments are nearly identical to Aḥob's wording, aside from either

notion that Christ existed before the sun appears to have originated with Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (*CPG* 1076). See Edgar J. Goodspeed (ed.), *Die ältesten Apologeten: Texte mit kurzen Einleitungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 171, *12* and Michael Slusser (ed.), Thomas B. Falls (trans.), and Thomas P. Halton, *St. Justin Martyr: Dialogue with Trypho* (Selections from the Fathers of the Church 3; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 64.5.

219 The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 159, *22*–160, *12*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

220 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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the removal of select words or one variation in spelling. While Isho'dad does use phraseology regarding the Father and the Son in his commentary on v. 3, his specific wording is noticeably different from that of Aḥob, suggesting that it is his own commentary and/or it is derived from (an)other source(s), such as a Syriac translation of Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (or an intermediary source that used this work's phraseology of Christ being begotten "before the sun"), Theodore (whose commentary on Ps 110(109) is lost), and/or one of the Church of the East Synods from the 5th to 7th centuries.[221] Overall, Isho'dad intentionally highlights the Christology of this verse to a greater degree than Aḥob does in his extant Psalm 110:3 scholion, which may reflect changing Christological views contemporaneous to Isho'dad in the 9th century that either did not exist or were unknown to Aḥob in the 6th century.[222]

4.2 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Anonymous Commentary*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in the *Anonymous Commentary*,[223] there will be two sets of subsections. The first subsection—encompassing Gen 15:9–10; 50:10—will contain four parts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) ms. Mosul 1's (hereafter shortened to O)[224] commentary on the same verse(s), in which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3) a presentation of the words and/or phrases that have been either altered or omitted from each Aḥob scholion in the text of O, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase; 4) the possible reason(s) why and/or the manner by which each Aḥob scholion is utilized in the text of O in these verses in Genesis.

221 For instance, see Sebastian P. Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries: Preliminary Considerations and Materials," in George Dion Dragas (ed.), *Aksum-Thyateira: A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain* (London: Thyateira House, 1985), 133–142.

222 For an overview of Isho'dad's Christology and approach to Messianic psalms, see Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xiv–xix.

223 Following on discussions of the *AC* manuscripts presented in Chapter 2, the following sigla will be used in this section for their equivalent manuscripts: D = (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22; O = Mosul 1; K = Kirkuk 8; P = St. Petersburg (*olim* Diettrich 2); A = Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21; V = Vat. Syr. 578; V^2 = Vat. Syr. 502; M^2 = Mingana Syr. 553.

224 Mosul 1 (dated to 1701) is the earliest of the *AC* manuscripts to contain Genesis. See Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

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The second subsection—encompassing Num 21:19; 1 Sam 8:1, 6; Bar Sira 14:12, 18—will also contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) if given, ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22's (hereafter shortened to D)[225] commentary on the verse(s) under discussion,[226] in/near which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion[227] within D, b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, c) a proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion; 4) the possible reason(s) why and/or the manner by which a given Aḥob scholion is included in D's commentaries on Numbers, 1 Samuel, and Bar Sira.

4.2.1 *Genesis 15:9–10*

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9–10 states:

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒ ܘܢܣܒ]9[	]9[And he[228] said to him,[229] "Take
ܬܠܬ ܥܓܠ̈ܬܐ ܬܠܬ ܥܓܠ̈ܬܐ ܘܐܝܠܐ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
ܬܠܬ ܥܓܠ̈ܬܐ.	and a three-year-old goat
ܘܬܪܬܐ ܘܒܪ ܝܘܢܩܐ.	and a turtle dove and a young dove."
]10[ܘܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܠܓ̈ܗܝ.	]10[And he[230] took all these (animals),
ܘܦܠܓ ܠܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܘܣܝܡ ܐܝܫ ܠܩܒܠ ܚܒܪܗ.	and he divided them equally and he placed
]ܘ[ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ.	(each) member opposite its fellow.
	But he did not divide the birds.

O's relevant commentary[231] on these same verses states:[232]

225 Diyarbakir 22 (dated to the 11th–12th centuries) is the earliest of the *AC* manuscripts to contain Numbers, 1 Samuel, and Bar Sira. See Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

226 Concerning the three texts of Num 21:19; 1 Sam 8:1, 6; Bar Sira 14:12, 18, the *AC* only preserves a commentary on Num 21:19 and 1 Sam 8:6.

227 In the *AC* manuscript tradition, the name of "Aḥob Qaṭraya" and/or "Aḥob" is inconsistently written in both red and black ink, though the use of the former is the preferred approach.

228 Namely, God.

229 Namely, Abram.

230 Namely, Abram.

231 O briefly comments on Gen 15:9–10 and then continues on to other verses in Gen 15 and 16 before returning to Gen 15:9–10 a second (and final) time. Its first commentary on Gen 15:9 does not contain any Aḥob fragments.

232 The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in O, ff. 17r, *24*–17v, *3*, *18*–18r, *19*, states:

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[10] But the *division* of the animals indicates the equality of their[233] adversities. But the undivided birds (indicate) their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness (ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܝܬܒܐ) and in the promised land … But by [9] the *calf*, he[234] indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke. Again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat. But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation. By means of (the words) *three years old* and *three years old*, he indicates the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*.[235] [10] That (phrase) *he*[236] *divided them equally*, that is to say, the parts of each one of them (are) arranged one opposite the other, as if that (animal) is alive. (There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar. *He*[237] *placed* (*each*) *member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite that member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he[238] makes known their[239] vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, even while they were looking at each other, they were not able to help each his fellow.

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[10] ܗܘ ܕܦܫܝܩ ܫܚܠܝܠܐ ܕܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܘܝܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܦܫܝܩ ܫܚܠܝܠܐ ܗܘ. [9] ... ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܝܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ. ܕܫܠܡ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܡ ܫܪܝܪ ܠܗ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܛܒܝܥܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܥܓܠܐ ܕܚܕܬ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ ܠܗ ܠܝܘܩܐ. ܬܘܒ ܒܟܪܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܕܪܗ ܗܘ ܕܥܓܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܙܥܘܪ ܘܐܝܢܫ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ

> But (that phrase) *he*[240] *did not divide the birds* indicates their[241] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt.[242]

While it is not stated in the text of O, several subsequent scribes in the *AC* manuscript tradition attribute the second (and longer) portion of this text to Aḥob.[243] If this is accepted, it is important to establish the specific ways in which this text developed from its earliest attestation until O.

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which the text of O alters or omits in its preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion (as found in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*),[244] with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. Each verse (beginning with v. 9)[245] will be presented separately, and the order will follow the text of O:

Genesis 15:9 (2nd)

***AC* of O** **(17v, *19*, *22*, 18r, *2* and *3*)**[246]	**Aḥob** **(73, *26*, *28*, 74, *3* and *4*)**[247]
"which first entered Egypt" (ܕܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܡ ܩܕܡ)	"which first entered Egypt" (ܕܩܕܡ ܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܡ)
"Again, by the *ram*" (ܒܬܪ ܟܕ̈ܒܫܐ)	"But, again, by the *ram*" (ܟܕ̈ܒܫܐ ܐܦ ܒܬܪ)

240 Namely, Abram.

241 Namely, the Israelites.

242 Levene previously published this text, with an English translation. However, his edition was based on the most recent *AC* manuscript, namely M². See idem, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 3, 47, *15*–46, *6*, 88–89. My English translation differs in a number of places from his.

243 See P, f. 23v, *9*; V², f. 21r, *11*; M², f. 12r, *15*.

244 Cf. Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xlii–xliii.

245 While the *AC* preserves one Aḥobian phrase in its first brief commentary on Gen 15:10, its wording is identical to Aḥob and, so, will not be presented in a separate table, though the phrase is given in the *AC's* translation of this verse in the main text above.

246 The text, folios, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from O, ff. 17r, *24*–17v, *3*, *18*–18r, *19*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

247 The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*–74, *15*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9–10.

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(*cont.*)

AC of O	Aḥob
"By means of (the words) *three years old* ... he indicates" (ܬܠܬ ... ܡܫܠܡ ܗܘ)	"Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) three ... he makes known" (ܒܗܕܐ ... ܡܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܠܚܡ ܡܚܘܐ)

Genesis 15:10 (2nd)

AC of O (18r, *3* and *4–5* and *5*, *8*, *9*, *10*, *14–15*, *18*)	Aḥob (74, *5* and *5–6* and *6*, *8*, *9*, *9*, *12–13*, *15*)
"That (phrase) ... that is to say, each one of them (are) arranged ... as if" (ܐܝܟ ... ܗܝ ܕܡܬܬܣܕ ... ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܚܕ ܘܚܕ)	"But that (phrase) ... that (is) to say, that ... of each one of them are arranged ... and as if" (ܐܦ ܗܝ ... ܕܡܬܬܣܕ ... ܕܟܠܚܕ ܘܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ... ܗܘܝܢ)
"*He placed*" (ܫܡ)	"He places" (ܡܣܬ)
"(each) member" (ܐܒܪܐ)	"(each) member" (ܐܒܪܐ)
"that member" (ܗܘ ܐܒܪܐ)	"the member" (ܐܒܪܐ)
"even while they were looking at each other, they were not able to help" (ܐܦ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܠܡܥܒܕ)	"though they were looking at each other, none was able to help" (ܐܦ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܠܡܥܒܕ)
"somehow" (ܒܡܐ ܡܢ)	"somehow" (ܡܢ ܡܢܐ)

As can be seen from the tables above, a comparison of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion in the text of O and the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* reveals that they are quite similar, which is likely due to the fact that the *AC on Genesis*' primary source in general is the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*.[248]

248 Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), liii.

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Concerning this Aḥob scholion, the most noticeable divergence that the text of O makes from the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* is that it uses one Aḥobian phrase twice—namely, "their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness" (ܐܝܬܝܬܗ ܚܕܐ ܠܫܡܫ ܐܝܬܘܗ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ)—in its first and second commentaries on v. 10. Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion is likely included in the text of O for three reasons: 1) it is found in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*; 2) it was probably preserved in the same (or similar) form in D, which (though it is now lost) was likely the source from which this scholion was copied; 3) it was viewed as an authoritative explanation of Gen 15:9–10. While the text of O has been copied from one or more earlier sources, it remains unclear if O's scribe, Homo, was aware that his slightly revised commentary on Gen 15:9–10 originated from Aḥob.

4.2.2 *Genesis 50:10*

According to the Peshitta, Gen 50:10 states:

ܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܐܛܕ	And they[249] came to the threshing floors
ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ.	of Aṭar, which (are) beyond the Jordan.
ܘܣܦܕ ܬܡܢ	And they mourned there
ܒܟܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܡܪܝܪܐ.	(with) a great and loud mourning.
ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐܒܝܗ ܫܒܥܐ	And he[250] made a lamentation for his father[251]
ܝܘܡܝܢ.	(for) seven days.

O's commentary on this same verse states:[252]

> That (phrase) *they came to the threshing floors of Aṭar* (ܐܛܕ), *which* (*are*) *beyond the Jordan*, (is) because the ford of the Jordan is there to enter the

249 Namely, Joseph and a company of people, including his brothers and the elders of the land of Egypt.

250 Namely, Joseph.

251 Namely, Jacob.

252 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in O, f. 47v, *10–24*, states:
ܒܟܝܐ ܫܒܥ ܝܘܡ ܠܐ. ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ ܐܛܕ ܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܐ ܐܝ ܒܟܝܐ ܐܝ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܐ ܕܐ ܘܣܦܕ ܥܡ ܟܠ. ܠܡܗܘ ܕܐ ܒܟܝ ܒܗ. ܒܟܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܡܪܝܪܐ : ܠܡܗܘ ܕܐ ܒܟܝ ܒܗ ܒܟܝ ܠܐ ܐܝ ܒܝ ܐܝ ܒܝ ܐܝ ܒܝ

> land of Canaan. But *there they mourned*, (is) because that great encampment of animals and chariots and wagons was not able to cross over to the land of Canaan, (which) is full of mountains and hills. According to Aḥob, *the threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb (ܒܝܬ ܓܘܪܢܐ ܕܐܛܪ ܗܘ ܩܒܪܐ ܕܒܟܢܥܢ). But *Aṭar* was not a "tomb" in the Egyptian language (ܒܡܨܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܛܪ ܐܠܐ ܒܟܢܥܢܝܐ ܩܪܝܘ ܠܗ ܐܛܕ). But they were calling it "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܕ), that is to say, a bramble (ܟܐܦܐ), because there, while they mourned over Jacob, they formed a circle. And there is there a spring of sweet water, and to this day there is a large bramble there, that which is called "Aṭaṭ" in the Canaanite language (ܒܟܢܥܢܝܐ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ), so that because of it the place is called "Aṭaṭ." And (this place) is four milestones distant from Jericho and two milestones from the Jordan.[253]

The following table presents the phrases which the text of O alters or omits in its preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion[254] (as found in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*),[255] with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow the text of O:

***AC* of O** (47v, *16*, *16–17*)[256]	**Aḥob** (128, *17*, *15*, *15–16*)[257]
"According to Aḥob, *the threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb" (ܒܝܬ ܓܘܪܢܐ ܕܐܛܪ ܗܘ ܩܒܪܐ ܕܒܟܢܥܢ)	"*The threshing floors* of the tomb" (ܒܝܬ ܓܘܪܢܐ ܕܩܒܪܐ)
"But *Aṭar* was not 'a tomb' in the Egyptian language" (ܒܡܨܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܛܪ ܐܠܐ ܒܟܢܥܢܝܐ ܩܪܝܘ ܠܗ)	"*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܒܡܨܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܩܒܪܐ ܐܛܪ)

253 This translation is my own.

254 Along with O, all later scribes of extant/accessible *AC* manuscripts attribute part of their Gen 50:10 commentary to Aḥob. See K, f. 56v, *17*; P, f. 49r, *8*; A, f. 49r, *4*; V, f. 6v, *1*; V^2, f. 52v, *15*; M^2, f. 31v, *11*.

255 Cf. Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xlii–xliii.

256 The text, folio, and line numbers are taken from O, f. 47v, *10–24*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

257 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 128, *14–21*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.2. Genesis 50:10.

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(*cont.*)

AC of O	Aḥob
(Omits)	"He calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a '*dufnā*'" (ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܬܒܘܬܐ ܘܠܐܪܘܢܐ)

For its commentary on Gen 50:10, the text of O reproduces, with nearly verbatim wording, Isho'dad's commentary on the same verse, meaning that, like Isho'dad, it seeks to better understand the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "the threshing floors of Aṭar" (ܓܘܪܢ ܐܬܪ). The text of O also follows in Isho'dad's footsteps by disagreeing with the notion that Aṭar should be equated with a "tomb" (ܩܒܪܐ) and by insisting that the word is better understood as "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܛ), which is pronounced as such "in the Canaanite language" (ܒܠܫܢܐ ܟܢܥܢܝܐ) and means "bramble" (ܣܘܟܐ).[258] The text of O even agrees with Isho'dad in its omission of Aḥob's dufnā phrase. The most notable place where the text of O diverges from Isho'dad (in the context of their respective commentaries on Gen 50:10) is that it includes two Aḥob fragments—rather than Isho'dad's lone Aḥob fragment. This development likely reflects a dependency on the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* at this point, in which (as the table above reveals) two similar Aḥob fragments are found. It is also possible that both fragments—in either the same or similar format—were found in D's commentary on Gen 50:10; however, since it is now lost, this unfortunately cannot be verified. By attributing "the *threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb" (ܓܘܪܢ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܩܒܪܐ) to Aḥob, the text of O (or the text of D) establishes the authoritative nature of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion with the intention of disputing it, beginning with the phrase "But *Aṭar* was not a 'tomb' in the Egyptian language" (ܐܡ ܓܘܪܢ ·ܠܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܡܨܪܝܐ). It is worth noting that O's development of Isho'dad, concerning Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion, is the only known instance of an Aḥob scholion being used in a tertiary manner (i.e. beginning with the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, then Isho'dad, and then the *AC*) in the East Syriac exegetical tradition.

258 It is unclear if Homo, the scribe of O, was aware that the *AC's* details concerning Aṭar, such as its alternate name of "Aṭaṭ" and its distance from Jericho and the Jordan river, originated from Epiphanius of Salamis' *On Weights and Measures* and not from Isho'dad. For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.2. Genesis 50:10.

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4.2.3 *Numbers 21:19*

According to the Peshitta, Num 21:19 states:

ܘܡܢ ܡܬܬܢܐ ܢܚܠܝܠ.	And from Mattanah to Nahaliel,
ܘܡܢ ܢܚܠܝܠ ܒܡܘܬ.	and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.

D's commentary[259] on this verse states:[260]

> *And from Mattanah to Nahaliel*. By means of these (words) he makes known that from place to place it[261] was being carried by the rulers of the people, according to the tradition of the teachers. So that from this place to such and such a place one of the nobles carries it,[262] together with those who (were) under him. And in the same way, from that place another car-

259 While the text largely relies on D, select letters, words and phrases have been reconstructed from K, which are shown in the bracketed sections of the Syriac text below. (O, rather than K, would have been preferred for this reconstruction; however, my copy of O's commentary on Num 21:19 is severely damaged. For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition, specifically the footnotes connected to O in the *AC* subsection.)

260 The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in D, ff. 53r, *33*–53v, *14* and K, ff. 158v, *6*–159r, *16*, states:

ܟ ܒܗܢ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܟ ܡܢ ܕܝܪ ܠܝܪ ܗܘ ܡܬܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܬܬܢܐ ܠܢܚܠܝܠ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܪ ܟ ܟ ܡܢ ܗܢ ܕܡܫܬܠܚ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܗܢ ܟ ܕܟ ܡܢ ܗܢ ܕܝܪ ܠܗ ܕܝܪ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܗܢ ܕܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܪ

ries and brings it[263] to that (next) place. But Rabban (says) *Mattanah* and *Nahaliel* are places in which a full spring of water was flowing and being generated, which was flowing from that mountain. According to Aḥob, he[264] calls them *waters* of *the stone* (ܡܝ ܟܐܦܐ),[265] that is to say, *it will give its waters*.[266] That is to say, because they would go out from it, like that (passage), *he made* waters *come out from the rock*.[267] And like that (passage) *about Elisha*, who healed the bitter *waters* with salt,[268] so also here. Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water. For it is evident that these waters are not a new creation (ܠܐ ܚܕܬܐ [ܡܝ ܡܢ ܗܘ] ܐܠܐ ܡܝ ܗܢܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ), but they are of the same waters (created by God). Yet angelic activity served to produce them, since they work in the air and produce rain.[269] Although the thing which was there was a miracle and should rightly be attributed to the power of its performer.[270] Two times, then, Moses broke through the stone, as we learn from Scripture: once, in (the wilderness of) Sin,[271] and the second, therefore, here in Zalmonah.[272] However, there are (those) who have said that (it was) not the same stone (which) Moses broke through but another (one), as if the waters (alone) were traveling around with them in the wilderness from the breach of that first (stone). But because they sinned, the flow of water failed and dried up.[273]

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263 Namely, the stone.

264 Namely, Moses.

265 Cf. Num 20:8. It is also possible that this phrase is a mistranslation of the Num 20 heading in 7a1 (as well as in 5b1 and 6b1), which states "the stone of waters" (ܡܝ ܟܐܦܐ).

266 Num 20:8.

267 Cf. Ps 78:16.

268 Cf. 2 Kgs 2:19–22.

269 While D (at this point) is stating that angels produce rain (but do not create it), Isho'dad's commentary on Exod 17:6, which relies on Bar Koni's *Memra* III, 21, maintains that angels put some of the original water (created by God) into the rock, where it accumulated and became abundant. See Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (text), 34, *22–24*; idem, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), 45–46; Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 160, *16–22*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 158.

270 Namely, Moses.

271 See Num 20:1, 11.

272 See Exod 17:1–7. In Exod 17:1, this place is called "Rephidim" (ܪܦܝܕܝܡ). It is unclear why Zalmonah is equated with Rephidim, the former of which is only mentioned as a stopping place in Num 33:41–42. Isho'dad also refers to Zalmonah in his commentary on Exod 17:6, which confused Van den Eynde. See idem, *Exode-Deutéronome* (text), 34, *27* and Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), 46 and n. 4.

273 This translation is my own.

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Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion[274] is situated between a comment attributed to Rabban (arguably Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya)[275] and an anonymous comment, possibly from the unknown author of the *AC* himself. In his scholion, Aḥob is trying to understand how water can come from a "stone" (ܟܐܦܐ), since stones do not naturally produce water. Though he only hints at it, Aḥob seems to equate the "well" (ܒܐܪ) from Num 21:16[276] with a stone that could be carried from place to place.[277] In order to understand how water could come out of a stone, he turns to other, similar Old Testament passages where human agents (i.e. Moses and Elisha) either produce water from a rock or restore undrinkable water to its proper state. Aḥob likely uses these parallels to emphasize two aspects of "the waters of the stone" (ܡܝ̈ ܕܟܐܦܐ ܗܢܘ):[278] 1) they were miraculous, in that they came from a stone, and 2) they came from the waters of the existing created order, which he highlights by commenting on the stone's visibility.

Like Aḥob, D is also interested in better understanding this stone that was a portable well. Its use of Aḥob's scholion in this verse is somewhat striking, given the fact that it does not comment on any part of Num 21:19. For this reason, it is likely that Aḥob's scholion was originally added as a marginal note but was inserted into the text by a later scribe.[279] While it is unclear if the unknown scribe of D included this scholion in the text or copied it as such from his exemplar, D likely uses this Aḥob scholion in v. 19 because it was viewed as an authoritative description of "the waters of the stone" that moved with the Israelites, and v. 19 is the first verse describing the Israelites' move-

274 Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion states, "He calls them 'the waters of the stone,' that is to say, *it will give its waters*. That is to say, because they would go out from it, like that (passage), 'he made waters come out from the rock' and like that of Elisha who healed the bitter water(s) with salt. Thus, also here. Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.3. Numbers Scholia. Following D, all subsequent scribes of extant/accessible *AC* manuscripts also credit this portion of their Num 21:19 commentary to Aḥob. See CPB 00445 (= O), f. 377v, *19*; K, f. 158v, *16*; P, f. 118v, *10*; A, f. 139r, *6*; V, f. 53r, *5*; V^2, f. 143r, *1*; M^2, f. 89v, *10*.

275 For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.1. Qaṭraya Scholia.

276 Num 21:16 states, "And there is (the place of) Beer, that is the well which the Lord said to Moses, 'Gather the people to me, and I will give them water'" (ܘܡܢ ܬܡ ܒܐܪ. ܗܘ ܒܐܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܗܘܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܟܢܫ ܠܝ ܠܥܡܐ. ܘܐܬܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܡ̈ܝ).

277 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3.1. Numbers 21:19.

278 For a discussion of the origin of this phrase, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.3. Numbers Scholia.

279 This Aḥob scholion may have originally been included in the *AC* as a marginal note connected to Num 20:8, upon which it comments. However, since it is now attached to Num 21:19, it should primarily be understood in the context of Num 21:19, rather than that of Num 20:8.

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ments after God provided this water. D has likely reworked (at least) aspects of this Aḥob scholion, and that which is extant may reflect only a portion of its original length; however, since D preserves the earliest witness of this Aḥob scholion, this cannot be verified. While it does not explicitly state where Aḥob's scholion ends in this verse, D likely intends that the sentence "For it is evident that these waters are not a new creation" ([ܟܬܝܒ] ܕܠܐ ܚܕ̈ܬ ܗ̇ܘ ܟܠܝ ܠܡ ܟܬ̈ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ) begins a new section, which functions as a broad commentary on the provenance of the water at Beer, as mentioned in Num 21:16.

4.2.4 *1Samuel 8:1, 6*

According to the Peshitta, 1Sam 8:1, 6 states:

ܘܗ̈ܘ ܟܕ ܗ̇ܘܐ [1]	[1] And it came to pass that when
ܫܡ̈ܘܐܝܠ. ܣܒ ܒܥܪ ܒ̈ܢ̈ܝܗ ܕ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ	Samuel grew old, he made
ܠܐܝܣܪ̈ܐܝܠ. ܠܒ̈ܢ̈ܝܗ ܠܫ̈ܘ̈ܦ̈ܛ̈ܐ ܥ̈ܠ	his sons judges over Israel.
ܘܗ̈ܘ ܡ̈ܠܬ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܐ [6]	[6] But the word was evil
ܒܥ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܡ̈ܘ̈ܐܝܠ.	in the eyes of Samuel
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܠܗ ܗ̈ܒ ܠ̈ܢ ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ܕ̈	when they said to him, "Give us a king
ܕ̈ܢ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܠ̈ܢ ܟ̈ܠ̈ ܥ̈ܡ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ	to judge us, like all the nations."
ܫ̈ܡ̈ܘ̈ܐܝܠ ܨ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈	And Samuel prayed before the Lord.

D's commentary on v. 6[280] states:[281]

280 D does not preserve a commentary on 1Sam 8:1.

281 Namely, Samuel. The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in D, f. 83v, *3–18*, states:
ܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ܗ. ܡ̈ܫ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܠ̈ܐ. ܟ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ ܠ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܪ̈ ܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ ܟ̈ܠ̈ ܠ̈ܫ̈ܡ̈ܘ̈ܐܝܠ ܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܥ̈ܡ̈
ܟ̈ܫ̈ܦ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܗ̈ ܟ̈ܠ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܡ̈ ܟ̈ܟ̈ ܪ̈ܐ̈ ܡ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܐ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܐ. ܡ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܟ̈ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ
ܡ̈ܫ̈ ܒ̈ܪ̈ ܪ̈ܫ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ ܟ̈ܠ̈ ܠ̈ܫ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ ܟ̈ ܡ̈ ܠ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܡ̈ ܫ̈ ܡ̈ ܟ̈ ܡ̈ ܠ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ

> (The fact) that Samuel was grieved on account of that which he heard—that they[282] had requested a king for themselves—(was) not because of himself, that he would, as it were, be reduced in his honor, but because he was persuaded that it (was) a great change to the government of Israel, due to the custom of the nations. On account of this, he was distressed by them. For the nations, this is lawful, that they should be governed, as it seems, by a king. But for the Israelites, it was right that they should live according to the divine laws, and not according to the command of a king. Therefore, (God) commanded (Samuel) that he should make a king for them,[283] (and) since he[284] was able to say, "Do not give them (a king)," it was not (commanded) rashly, but because he[285] was familiar with their impudence. (For) if Samuel should not have given them a king, in their audacity they would have raised a king for themselves, and by this cause they would have been distanced from God, as happened in the time of Jeroboam.[286] (God) reckoned that it was advantageous that a king should be given to them by Samuel, so that both the king and they[287] should be put to shame by him.[288] But here God found fault (with) them,[289] because they requested a king for themselves, even though in Deuteronomy he[290] gave permission that they should have (a king).[291] This is the reason: because when they possessed a man such as Samuel (as) a leader, they rejected him and sought a king for themselves. Although they seem (to have been) most obedient and attentive to Eli and his idle sons,[292] they were disobedient to the leadership of this spirit-filled man.[293]

Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion[294] is written in the lower margins of D, ff. 83v–84r, and it is not visibly connected to any word or phrase in D's parallel commentary on v. 6. In his scholion, Aḥob summarizes certain key details of 1Sam 8, such as Samuel's appointment of his sons to be judges over the Israelites (v. 1)

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282 Namely, the Israelites.
283 Cf. 1Sam 8:7, 22.
284 Namely, God.
285 Namely, God.
286 Cf. 2Kgs 17:21–22.
287 Namely, the Israelites.
288 Namely, the king.
289 Namely, the Israelites.
290 Namely, God.
291 Cf. Deut 17:14–15.
292 Cf. 1Sam 2:12.
293 This translation is my own.
294 Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion states, "And after other things he discusses the evil way of life of the sons of Samuel, these whom Samuel appointed (as) [8:1] *judges over Israel*,

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and the Israelites' request—in response to the wickedness of Samuel's sons—to have a king (vv. 3–5). Aḥob then highlights Samuel's response to the Israelites' petition for a king: "he was grieved" (ܫܠ ܚܙܐ) and "prayed before the Lord" (ܥܠ ܡܪܝ ܨܠܝ), the latter of which is a quotation of v. 6. While it abruptly ends at this point, Aḥob likely intends his scholion to emphasize two things concerning this text: 1) the Israelites were foolish to ask for a human king and 2) Samuel was a righteous leader, even though his sons were wicked.

While its commentary on 1Sam 8:6 above shows that D is also interested in Samuel's response to the Israelites' request for a king, its unknown scribe was either unaware of Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion or he disregarded it, the latter of which would explain why he includes Isho'dad's critique of this Aḥob scholion (albeit in an anonymized, reworked form) in the outer margin of D, f. 83v.[295] This Aḥob scholion was arguably added to D by a later, unknown scribe,[296] who was either writing quickly or perhaps was not a very skilled writer. Either way, there are three reasons why it can be known that this Aḥob scholion was written subsequent to the main text: 1) it was written in a different hand than the main text and primary marginal notes in frames;[297] 2) it was introduced with "According to Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܟܐܢܐ ܕܐܚܘܒ);[298] 3) it was written (with frames) to largely fit around a primary marginal note in frames in the lower margin of D, f. 83v. This later scribe likely included this Aḥob scholion

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when he reached old age, so that, due to the greatness of their iniquity, the people should be compelled to ask that they should have a king. (On account of) this—when [6] *Samuel* heard that they had asked to have *a king* for themselves—he was grieved, *and* therefore he *prayed before the Lord*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.5. 1Samuel Scholion.

295 Isho'dad's commentary—the English translation of which is taken from Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.3. 1Samuel 8:1, 6—states: "For that (comment) that (it was) because of the imprudence of the sons of Samuel (that) the people were moved to ask (for) a king is casually set (forth), like others which (are) like this. For they were not evil (people), like the sons of Eli or even Saul, (who was) two years (into his reign when) he became corrupt. Therefore, for this (to occur), it is (divine) providence, which accomplishes everything" (ܟܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܛܦܫܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܐܬܥܪܘ ܥܡܐ ܠܡܫܐܠ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܚܪܢ ܗܟܢܐ. ܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܝܫ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܟ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܥܠܝ ܐܘ ܫܐܘܠ ܕܗܘ ܫܢܬܝܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܐܬܚܒܠ. ܠܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܗܘ ܡܕܒܪ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܡܬܥܒܕ ܒܥܠܡܐ).

296 The later, unknown scribe likely places this Aḥob scholion in the lower margins of D, ff. 83v–84r, because there was more space there than at the top or side margins of these same pages.

297 Nearly every page of D has marginal notes, sometimes surrounding three of the four sides of the main text. These marginal notes are typically written within frames, many of which are given additional jagged edges on opposite ends. These marginal notes appear to have been written by the same unknown scribe who produced the main text.

298 Aḥob's name is presented on D, f. 53v, *1* (in Num 21:19) as "According to Aḥob" (ܟܐܢܐ ܕܐܚܘܒ).

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for three reasons: 1) it provides background information for understanding the particulars of v. 6; 2) it, in part, fills a gap where the *AC* manuscript tradition was silent; 3) it offers a counter-corrective to Isho'dad's critique of this Aḥob scholion. Though it is unlikely that Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion has been reworked, it is possible that it was once longer and, perhaps, summarized more details found in 1Sam 8. Nevertheless, (if accepted) it seems that the source used by this later, unknown scribe contained only what he transcribed onto D, suggesting that this Aḥob scholion had been shortened at some prior time.

4.2.5 *Bar Sira 14:12, 18*

According to the Peshitta, Bar Sira 14:12, 18 states:[299]

[12] ܐܝܟ ܕܬܕܥ ܐܢܬ ܗܫܐ	[12] Remember that until now
ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ.	you have not seen death,
ܘܓܙܪܬ ܫܐܘܠ	and the decree of Sheol
ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܬ ܠܟ.	has not been shown to you.
[18] ܐܝܟ ܥܠܐ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ	[18] Like the leaves of the trees,
ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܠܝܢ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܢܨܡܚܝܢ.	for these fall and these spring up,
ܗܟܢܐ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܒܣܪ ܘܕܡ	so are the generations
ܕܒܣܪ ܘܕܡ.	of flesh and blood:
ܚܕ ܕܪ̈ ܡܝܬ	one generation dies
ܘܐܚܪܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ.	and another is born.

D does not preserve a commentary on Bar Sira 14:12, 18.[300]

Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion[301] is written in the upper and outside margins of D, f. 133r, and it is not visibly connected to any part of D's Bar Sira commentary. In his scholion, Aḥob presents a commentary on Bar Sira 14:12, 18. In v. 12, he quotes the entirety of the verse (which is the only instance in

299 Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La Sabiduría del Escriba / Wisdom of the Scribe*, 118, 120–121. My English translation differs in several places from theirs.

300 D, f. 133r, which contains the entirety of its commentary on Bar Sira 14, focuses only vv. 1, 3, 10, 19, 27. V, which is arguably a copy of D, preserves the same commentary on the same verses of Bar Sira 14, though it does not contain the marginal notes (including Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion) which are found in D. See V, ff. 107v, *23*–108r, *7*; Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La Sabiduría del Escriba / Wisdom of the Scribe*, 116, 118–119, 120–121; Van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican*, 106–107.

301 Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion states, "[14:12] And *remember that until now you have not seen death, and the decree of Sheol has not been shown to you*, so that we might say, that

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his extant scholia where he does so), and then he focuses on the reality and inevitability of Sheol. He speaks from the perspective of Bar Sira to his son, who is likely understood to be a young man, on account of the fact that Aḥob (via the voice of Bar Sira) explains to his son what Sheol is: "the place of the dead" (ܒܝܬ ܡܝܬܐ ܗܘ). Just as his son has not yet tasted death, so he has also not yet seen Sheol. Nevertheless, Aḥob (via the voice of Bar Sira) assures his son that he will both die and go to "the place of the dead," because "it is of course decreed concerning you" (ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܡܝܬ ܐܢ ܠܐ). Aḥob likely intends his scholion to emphasize the reality of death for all people, after which all proceed to judgment.

In his commentary on v. 18, Aḥob quotes a large portion of the verse and then presents an extended metaphor, comparing human life to leaves as they blossom. The verbs that he uses—which are taken from the verse itself—are also consistent with leaf imagery. For instance, while discussing how "people are not distinguished from the leaves of trees" (ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܝ ܡܢ ܥܠܐ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ), Aḥob describes them as "they have sprung up" (ܐܬܐ) and "have fallen" (ܢܦܠ). Aḥob concludes by personalizing the "distinction" (ܦܘܫܩܢܐ) between human life and leaves: leaves simply die "without judgement" (ܕܝܢ ܠܐ); however, "after our death … we go to judgement" (ܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܢ ... ܐܙܠܝܢ ܠܕܝܢ).

A later, unknown scribe added Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion to D, and based on the orthography and manner of inclusion, he is arguably the same scribe who also added Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion. For instance, his writing is clearly different than that of the main text of D, and he fits this Aḥob scholion (without frames) around both the main text and the primary marginal notes in frames on D, f. 133r. The scribe who included this Aḥob scholion likely did so for two reasons: 1) he found it interesting and 2) he noted that the main text of the commentary on Bar Sira did not discuss these particular verses, so he was seeking to expand the *AC* manuscript tradition at this point.[302]

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even though you have not yet seen death, and Sheol—that is, the place of the dead—you have not seen, yet it is of course decreed concerning you that you will die and you will go to the place of the dead. [18] *Like the leaves of trees, for these fall, and these spring up, so are the generations of flesh and blood.* (For) people are not distinguished from the leaves of trees, these who always—when they have sprung up—have fallen. And even if the (common) nature with trees is retained, yet also our distinction is this, that (we are) not, like the leaves, without judgement after our death, but we go to judgement." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.10. Bar Sira Scholion.

302 Somewhat interestingly, the *AC* does not use any of the known Aḥob Psalms scholia in its brief *Commentary on Psalms* (D, ff. 159v, *4*–165r, *34*), even though this text relies, in part, on Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*. Van den Eynde conducted a preliminary examination

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4.3 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*,[303] each subsection will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of two subparts: 1) if known, the Peshitta text on which the Aḥob scholion under discussion focuses, with a facing English translation; 2) the *Lexicon's* (relevant) definition(s) surrounding the same Aḥob scholion in a given entry; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion within the *Lexicon* and b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion;[304] 4) the possible reason(s) why Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) included a given Aḥob scholion in particular entries of the *Lexicon*.[305]

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of the contents of this (yet) unedited text and noted that it is largely composed of roughly two hundred and fifty "brief scholia, which are most often explanations of words." See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvii. Given that one of the most notable things about Aḥob's scholia is their explanations of difficult biblical words and/or phrases, the *AC's* lack of dependence upon Aḥob's Psalm scholia in its *Commentary on Psalms* suggests one of two approaches: 1) the unknown scribe of D did not have access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, or 2) he had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works but did not chose to include any of Aḥob's Psalm scholia in the *AC on Psalms*, which (given Aḥob's influence on Psalms interpretation in the East Syriac exegetical tradition) may imply that this *Commentary on Psalms* was primarily written for the purpose of completing the *AC* on the whole Old Testament, rather than it being an encyclopedic compilation of earlier East Syriac writers' insights on various difficult words and/or phrases in the Psalms. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxviii.

303 The critical editions used in this section are the following: Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vols. 1–3); Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1); idem, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901).

304 Due to the (likely) fragmentary nature of Aḥob's scholia in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, it is often unclear what Aḥob may have intended a given scholion to mean or a given scholion is itself his proposed meaning. His etymologies encompass the latter. For these reasons (unless it can otherwise be deduced), a proposal for the intended meanings of Aḥob's scholia in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* will not be given.

305 Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vols. 1–2) also preserves several Aḥob scholia, all of which are included in Duval's edition. Though Payne Smith and Duval relied on overlapping manuscripts for their respective editions, Payne Smith utilized fewer manuscripts than did Duval, and as a result more Aḥob scholia is preserved in Duval's edition. The present study will focus on Duval's edition, though mention will be made of Payne Smith's edition when it preserves a different rendition of a given Aḥob scholion.

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4.3.1 ܠܘܛܐ

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:9 states:[306]

ܡܘܪ ܘܩܨܝܥܐ ܘܠܘܛܐ.	Myrrh and cassia and stacte
ܟܠ ܠܒܘܫܟ ܡܬܒܣܡ ܠܟ.	perfume all your garments.
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܫܝܢ	From the finest temple
ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡܝ ܚܕܝܘ ܠܟ.	and from my presence, they made you glad.

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܠܘܛܐ (including this entry word) state:[307]

> ܠܘܛܐ: Storax. (According to) one manuscript, "The oil[308] of myrrh, that is to say, the sweet-smelling gum of sap." Storax. (According to Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway, "It is said (that) it is called storax of the pomegranate." And Ḥob says, "stacte (is) *asinayith* in the language of Qatar" (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܪ).[309] Storax of the pomegranate. Sergius of Reshʿayna calls stacte "the waters of ash."[310]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob"[311]) comment on ܠܘܛܐ is situated between a fragment from Ḥenanishoʿ bar Seroshway[312] and an anonymous Arabic phrase

306 Duval attributes Aḥob's ܠܘܛܐ comment to Gen 37:25, on the basis of the Hexapla. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix. This attribution is arguably incorrect for three reasons: 1) Aḥob likely did not read Greek; 2) Aḥob predates the Syro-Hexapla; 3) Ps 45:9 preserves the only instance of this word in the Peshitta. For a further discussion of the first of these three reasons, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

307 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *11–16*, states:
ܠܘܛܐ الميعة ح ܥܡܥܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܕܒܘܫܡܐ ܕܪܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܥܐ اللبنى ح ܗܝ
ܡܝܢ ويقال لبنى الرمّان ܐܣܝܢ ܕܟܝ ܠܘܛܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܪ ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ميعة الرمان
ܗܝ ح ܕܡܝ ܠܘܛܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܒܪ ܫܘܫܘ ܕܡܝ ܕܥܝܢ ܪܫܥܝܢܐ ❖

308 Though the spelling in the main text (namely ܥܡܥܐ) is clearly corrupted, it has been corrected in footnote 9: ܥܡܥ. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *11* and n. 9 (below col. 224).

309 Payne Smith does not preserve this Aḥob comment. See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1), col. 301.

310 This translation is my own.

311 For a discussion of this and all subsequent variant spellings of Aḥob's name in this section, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.2. Name.

312 For Bar Seroshway's date, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.5. Works.

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defining ܩܛܝܦܐ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself.[313] In his comment, Aḥob defines ܩܛܝܦܐ "in the language of Qatar" (ܒܠܫܢܐ)[314] as "*asinayith*" (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ), presumably meaning stacte. He does not offer any further remarks on either word.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) recognized ܩܛܝܦܐ to be a difficult word, and he/they sought to define it. He/They relied on Aḥob at this point, among various other early writers, likely because his nuanced explanation (i.e. according to the language of Qatar) was viewed as an authoritative definition of ܩܛܝܦܐ.

Since this is the only Aḥob fragment within Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* that has a parallel elsewhere—namely, Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion in the *DGC*—a comparison can be made between both texts:

Bar Bahlul (col. 223, *14*)[315]	**Aḥob** (*1–5*)[316]
"stacte (is) *asinayith* in the language of Qatar" (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܩܛܝܦܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ)	"Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory.' Here, the grammatical point was changed and this letter, which (was) a nun, was shortened. *Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar. But *cassia* (is) peeled-off rind" (.ܩܨܝܦܐ ܕܩܛܝܦܐ ܐܣܝܢܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܩܛܪ̈ܐ ܗܝ ܩܠܝܦܬܐ ܕܩܨܝܦܐ ܗܝ ܐܣܝܢܬ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܩܛܪ̈ܐ. ܩܛܝܦܐ ⁘ ܩܨܝܦܐ ܗܝ ܩܠܝܦܬܐ ⁘ ܐܣܝܢܝܬ)

313 Cf. Mario Kozah, "Introduction," in Mario Kozah, George Kiraz, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *Beth Qaṭraye: A Lexical and Toponymical Survey* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 58; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2021), 17 and idem, "A Lexical Survey of *Qaṭrāyīth*," in Mario Kozah, George Kiraz, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *Beth Qaṭraye: A Lexical and Toponymical Survey* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 58; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2021), 61–62.

314 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.5.1. Gloss on ܩܛܝܦܐ.

315 The text, column, and line number are taken from Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *11–16*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from earlier in this subsection.

316 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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Aside from the fact that both texts are attributed to Aḥob (which is not shown in the table above), one can see that Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) either selected a portion of the original scholion[317] or borrowed this fragment from an intermediate source.[318] This particular portion of Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion (rather than any of its other parts) was used in this entry of the *Lexicon* for the simple reason that it focuses exclusively on ܐܣܦܣܛ. It remains unclear why *asinat* was altered in its spelling from ܐܣܢܬ to ܐܣܝܢܬ in Bar Bahlul's ܐܣܦܣܛ entry, though it is possible that it reflects an early scribal error in the manuscript tradition[319] or possibly a typesetting error when Duval published vol. 1 of the *Lexicon* in 1888.

4.3.2 ܕܢܐܝܠ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[320]

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ	And the chief of the eunuchs
ܫܡܗܬ ܗܘ ܠܗܘܢ.	gave names to them.
ܘܩܪܐ ܠܕܢܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ.	He called Daniel "Belteshazzar"
ܘܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܫܕܪܟ.	and Hananiah "Shadrach"
ܘܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܡܝܫܟ.	and Mishael "Meshach"
ܘܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܥܒܕܢܓܘ.	and Azariah "Abednego."

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܕܢܐܝܠ (including this entry word) state:[321]

317 Due to the fact that Aḥob's Psalm scholia were not added to the *DGC* until (at the earliest) 1875, it is impossible that Bar Bahlul would be relying on the *DGC* for its Aḥob material. Cf. Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii.

318 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

319 I do not have access to the oldest manuscripts that Duval used for his edition, so I cannot verify if, in fact, this misspelling originates from a scribal error, at least in the extant manuscript tradition. Curiously, the two Bar Bahlul manuscripts that I have been able to access—labeled B (1883) and P (1886) by Duval—preserve a trimmed-down version of the ܐܣܦܣܛ entry (compared to the published edition), wherein Aḥob's comment is not included. See B, f. 50r, *27*; P, f. 35r, col. 1, *22*; Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xxix–xxxi, xxxviii–xxxix.

320 Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܕܢܐܝܠ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

321 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 397, *11–13*, states:
ܕܢܐܝܠ ܗܝ ܕ ܗܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܥܠ ܥܠ الصنم. ܘܣܝ ܗܘ ܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܠܕܢܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ
ܕܢܐܝܠ ܘܐܚܐ ܡܠܐ ܥܠ ܥܠ صورة بال الصنم ❖

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ܒܠܛܫܨܪ: According to (Ḥenanisho‘) bar Seroshway, "the image of Bel, the idol" (صنم الصورة بال). And Ḥob says that "the chief *of the eunuchs gave Daniel the name, Belteshazzar*, and it is translated (as) the image of Bel" (ܒܠ ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ ܐܬܦܫܪ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ ܗܘ ܕܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܫܡ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ ܘܐܬܦܫܪ ܒܠ ܨܠܡ).[322] The image of Bel, the idol (صورة بال الصنم).[323]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܒܠܛܫܨܪ scholion is situated between a fragment from Ḥenanisho‘ bar Seroshway and an anonymous Arabic gloss of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob quotes a portion of Dan 1:7, focusing on the meaning of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ, which he insists "is translated (as) the image of Bel"[324] (ܐܬܦܫܪ ܒܠ ܨܠܡ). It is likely that he equates the ܒܠ of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ with "Bel" (ܒܠ). It is also possible that he identifies the ܨܪ of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ with the verb "to depict, paint"—which he links to "image" (ܨܠܡ)—and ignores the previous two letters, namely ܒܠ.[325]

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to explain the meaning of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܒܠܛܫܨܪ scholion in this entry, because his definition was viewed as both authoritative and in agreement with other accepted definitions of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܒܠܛܫܨܪ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. The Arabic phrase "The image of Bel, the idol" (صورة بال الصنم) likely functions as a full Arabic gloss of Bar Seroshway's fragment "the image of Bel, the idol" (صنم الصورة بال).[326]

322 Payne Smith does not preserve this Aḥob scholion. See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1), col. 534.

323 This translation is my own.

324 For a further discussion of Bel, see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1), col. 518 and Andrew R. George, "Marduk and the cult of the gods of Nippur at Babylon" *Orientalia* 66 (1997): 65.

325 Aḥob likely uses a similar etymological approach with "Nebuchadnezzar" (ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ) as well. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.5. ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ.

326 It is unclear if this Bar Seroshway fragment has been altered or if it originally contained Syriac and Arabic.

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4.3.3 ܡܫܝܚܐ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[327]

ורב סריסיא יהב	And the chief of the eunuchs
להון שמהן׃	gave names to them.
ויהב לדניאל בלטשאצר׃	He called Daniel "Belteshazzar"
ולחנניה שדרך׃	and Hananiah "Shadrach"
ולמישאל מישך׃	and Mishael "Meshach"
ולעזריה עבדנגו׃	and Azariah "Abednego."

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܡܫܝܚܐ (including this entry word) state:[328]

> ܡܫܝܚܐ: Ḥob says that "*the chief of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Mishael* by this name, that is to say, the anointer of the land" (ורב סריסיא יהב להון שמהן ויהב לדניאל בלטשאצר ולחנניה שדרך ולמישאל מישך ולעזריה עבדנגו). The anointer of the land (ماسح الارض).[329]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܡܫܝܚܐ scholion is the first of two definitions given in this entry. It is placed before an anonymous Arabic gloss, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob uses a portion of Dan 1:7 to explain the meaning of Mishael's new name, which was given to him by "the chief of the eunuchs of Nebuchadnezzar" (ורב סריסיא יהב להון שמהן). However, instead of stating this new name, i.e. Meshach, Aḥob references it by way of an etymology, which he suggests is "the anointer of the land" (מישך ארעא). Aḥob clearly links the name Meshach with the similar sounding verb m-š-ḥ (משח), presumably the participle (or substantivized participle in construct), "anointer / anointer of." He then identifies the object anointed as being "the land" (ארעא).

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܡܫܝܚܐ. He/They likely rely almost exclusively on Aḥob in this entry, because

327 Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܡܫܝܚܐ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

328 There is another ܡܫܝܚܐ entry (two entries above the one currently under discussion) which is unrelated and states, "Meshach: that is to say, from a brother" (מישך ה מישך ❖ארע). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1077, *2*. The text of this entry, which is found in ibid., (vol. 2), col. 1077, *16–18*, states:
ורב סריסיא יהב להון שמהן ויהב לדניאל בלטשאצר ולחנניה שדרך ולמישאל מישך ה משח ארעא. ماسح الارض❖

329 This translation is my own.

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his definition was viewed as the most authoritative description of ܚܫܝܚܐ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܚܫܝܚܐ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. The Arabic phrase "The anointer of the land" (ماسح الارض) likely functions as a gloss of Aḥob's final two Syriac words "the anointer of the land."

4.3.4 ܚܩܒܐ

There is no particular Peshitta verse that is connected to this entry.

The *Lexicon's* definition and description of ܚܩܒܐ (including this entry word) states:[330]

> ܚܩܒܐ: Ḥob says that "they are translated (as) zealots" (ܚܒܝܒ ܩܢܝܐ). And that Judas who went up and destroyed Jerusalem and renewed the sanctuary was called "Maccabee," in (another) m(anuscript), *al māqabī*. The names of the seven Maccabees (are) Gaddai, Tarsai, Maccabee, Hauran, Ḥaphos, Baqir, (and) Jonadab, the sons of ʿAbedshalom. And Shmoni their mother[331] and Eleazar the priest, the son of Onias the

330 The text of this entry, along with some of its diacritical points and vowels to aid in reading and translating—all of which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1143, *4–27*, states:

ܚܩܒܐ. ܐܡܪ ܚܒܝܒ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܡܬܦܫܩܢ ܒܝܘܢܝܐ ܩܢܝܐ. ܘܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܙܠ ܘܚܪܒ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܚܕܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܡܩܒܝ. ܒܟܬ. ܘܫܡܗ ܒܫܒܥܐ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܒܢܝ ܚܫܝܕܐ ܓܕܝ. ܬܪܣܝ. ܡܩܒܝ. ܚܘܪܢ. ܚܦܣ. ܒܩܝܪ. ܘܝܘܢܕܒ. ܒܢܝ ܥܒܕܫܠܡ. ܘܫܡܘܢܝ ܐܡܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܥܙܪ ܟܗܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܘܢܝ ܟܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܚܣܝܕܐ ܕܐܫܬܐܪ ܒܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܕ ܒܫܒܛ ܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܘ

> priest, their teacher, were martyred after the death of ʿAbedshalom, their father, at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus the Greek, that (one) who was a hostage in Rome. And they say that when Mattita, the paternal-uncle of the children, saw that their martyrdom had been accomplished, he replaced the names of his sons with the names of the sons of his brother,[332] because of (his) piety and because of his love for the sons of his brother, because ʿAbedshalom and Mattita were brothers, the sons of Simeon the priest, from the family of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest. John was called "Gaddai" and Simeon was called "Tarsai" and Judah was called "Maccabee," and Eleazar was called "Hauran" and Jonathan was called "Ḥaphos," because Mattita had five sons. In (another) m(anuscript), the Maccabees were martyred at the hands of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus the Macedonian in Jerusalem. But they preceded our Lord, then, (by) a hundred and seventy years.[333]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܚܩܩܝ scholion is the only definition given in this entry. It is placed before a lengthy anonymized history of the Maccabean family. In his scholion, Aḥob presents a simple etymology of ܚܩܩܝ, whom he equates with "zealots" (ܩܢܝܐ). On an etymological level, it is unclear why he equates the word Maccabees with zealots.[334]

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) sought to both define and explain the ܚܩܩܝ. While he/they likely rely on Aḥob's scholion to define the word Maccabees because it was understood as the most authoritative etymological explanation of this plural proper noun, it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܚܩܩܝ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. He/They arguably add the lengthy anonymized history of the Maccabean family to this entry in order to explain its historical significance. One can arguably know that this second, longer section (at minimum)

Edited on Manuscript Authority (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), ܡܚܗ, *1-ܡܨ, 678* (Syriac) and xlviii, D–lxxii (English). This poem is dated by Brock (p. 330) to the late 12th or 13th century.

332 The texts published by Bensly and Barnes do not mention an uncle named Mattita renaming his children.

333 This translation is my own.

334 Maccabee, the surname of Judah the leader of the Jewish revolt against the Seleucid Empire (167–160 B.C.), is thought to derive from the Aramaic word מַקָּבָא, meaning "hammer." In Syriac, however, ܩܡܘܩܐ means "awl, borer" (from ܢܡܩ). The gloss "zealot," thus, probably derives from the activities of the Maccabees, rather than from their assumed name.

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does not derive from Aḥob, because its encyclopedic nature and structural dissimilarity to other Aḥob scholia suggest a later (and thereby different) writer than Aḥob.[335]

4.3.5 ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ

There is no particular Peshitta verse that is connected to this entry.[336]

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ (including this entry word) state:[337]

> ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ: Ḥob says, "it is translated (as) the image of Nabu" (ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܒܐ ܗܘ ܨܠܡܗ). The image of Nabu, he being *'uṭārid* (صورة نابو وهو عُطارد). Another manuscript (says), "he sits in ambushes" (ܡܣܬܟܐ ܒܟܡܝܢ). Nebuchadnezzar is the son of Cyrus, the first king of the Persians. That (one) to whom Cyrus gave the name Nebuchadnezzar; that (one) who is written (about) in Judith[338] and the Jews call him "Cambyses" and the name of his father (was) Nabopolassar.[339]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ scholion is the first of three definitions given in this entry, all of which precede a brief overview of Nebuchadnezzar's family tree[340] and select later Jewish interpretations of it. In his scholion, Aḥob presents an etymology of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ, which he insists means "the image of Nabu" (ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܒܐ), who was a god in ancient Mesopotamia.[341] He clearly equates the ܢܒ of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ with the god, "Nabu" (ܢܒ), and it is possible that he identifies the ܟܕ of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ with the verb "to depict, paint"—which he links to "image" (ܡܕܝܢܐ)—and ignores the previous three letters, namely ܒܘܢ.[342]

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335 For a further discussion of the non-encyclopedic nature of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

336 Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

337 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1212, *3–8*, states:
ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܐܡܪ ܚܒ ܕܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܒܐ ܗܘ ܨܠܡܗ صورة نابو وهو عطارد ܕ ܡܣܬܟܐ ܒܟܡܝܢ. ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܒܪ ܟܘܪܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܟܘܪܫ ܫܡ ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܬ ܘܝܗ̈ܘܕ̈ܝܐ ܩܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܗ ܩܒܘܣ̈ܝ ܘܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܢܒܘܦܠܣܪ ❊

338 Cyrus is not mentioned in the book of Judith.

339 This translation is my own.

340 Nebuchadnezzar's family tree, as presented in Bar Bahlul's ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ entry, bears no relation to either his real family tree or to that which is described in the book of Daniel.

341 See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2268.

342 Aḥob likely uses a similar etymological approach with "Belteshazzar" (ܒܠܛܫܨܪ) as well. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.2. ܒܠܛܫܨܪ. Both of these glosses offer related insights into his etymological thinking.

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Somewhat similar to the ܚܩܦ entry, Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) sought to both define and explain ܢܒܗܕܢܝ. He/They likely rely on Aḥob's scholion in this entry, because it was viewed as an authoritative explanation of ܢܒܗܕܢܝ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܢܒܗܕܢܝ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree.[343] The Arabic phrase "the image of Nabu" (صورة نابو) is likely meant to be a gloss of Aḥob's first two Syriac words in his scholion, namely, "the image of Nabu," and, in this way, it functions as a second definition of ܢܒܗܕܢܝ, following (but detached from) Aḥob's scholion. The Arabic phrase "he being *'uṭārad*" (وهو عطارد) refers to the planet Mercury,[344] as well as a proper, old fashioned Arabic name, and, as such, it is unlikely that Aḥob would have used it to define ܢܒܗܕܢܝ. Rather, it is more likely that Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) included this phrase as a clarification of the Arabic (and non-Aḥobian) phrase "the image of Nabu." Concerning the phrase "he sits in ambushes" (ܗܘ ܝܬܒ ܒܣܛܪܐ), it is unclear how it is connected to the meaning of ܢܒܗܕܢܝ. It, as well as the rest of the entry, almost certainly does not originate from Aḥob.

4.3.6 ܚܕ ܠܟܗ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[345]

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܒ	And the chief of the eunuchs
ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܫܡܗܬ ܠܗܘܢ.	gave names to them.
ܘܩܪܐ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ.	He called Daniel "Belteshazzar"
ܘܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܫܕܪܟ.	and Hananiah "Shadrach"
ܘܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܡܝܫܟ.	and Mishael "Meshach"
ܘܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܥܒܕܢܓܘ.	and Azariah "Abednego."

343 While the *Lexicon* does not contain any punctuation between Aḥob's ܢܒܗܕܢܝ scholion and the following Arabic phrase, Payne Smith includes a period between these two texts. See idem, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2269.

344 The identification of Nabu with the planet Mercury (Hermes) seems to have been a standard part of Mesopotamian astrology. See Francesco Pomponio, *Nabû: Il culto e la figura di un dio del Pantheon babilonese ed assiro* (Studi Semitici 51; Rome: Instituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma, 1978), 227 and Lucinda Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos: A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 136, n. 43. For the Syriac continuation of the identification of Nabu with the planet Mercury / Hermes (and transcript of *'uṭārad*), see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2268 and esp. the Cause of Causes.

345 Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܚܕ ܠܟܗ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

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The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ (including this proper name, which is included under the ܥܒܕ entry) state:[346]

> ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ: According to (Ḥenanisho‘) bar Seroshway, "A‘bar nebgu (?; ܐܬܒܓ ܒܠܛ), that is to say, the mighty man is great."[347] He is extremely powerful. And Ḥob says that "*the chief of the eunuchs* gave *Azariah* the name, *Abednego*, that is to say, the common servant" (ܐܕ ܫܪܟ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣ ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܕ ܥܒܕ ܠܚܪܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܕ ܥܒܕ ܠܥܒܕ). The common slave (العبد العامّى). Abednego (was) an inner servant,[348] who entered and went out before the king. Abednego, a slave (acquired) by abduction.[349]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ scholion is situated between a fragment from Ḥenanisho‘ bar Seroshway and an anonymous Arabic gloss of ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob uses a portion of Dan 1:7 to explain the meaning of Azariah's new name, which was given to him by "the chief of the eunuchs" (ܐܕ ܫܪܟ ܣܪܝܣ ܣܪܝܣ). However, unlike his ܚܢܢܝ scholion, Aḥob states this new name, i.e. Abednego, and then he presents its perceived etymology: "the common servant" (ܥܒܕ ܠܥܒܕ). He clearly equates the ܥܒܕ of ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ with "servant" (ܥܒܕ), and it is possible that he links the ܠ of ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ with "common" (ܠܥܒܕ) and ignores the ܕ of ܒܠܛ.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ scholion (in the ܥܒܕ entry), because his definition was viewed as both authoritative and in agreement with other accepted definitions of ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ, which itself was viewed as a variation of ܥܒܕ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered

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346 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1400, *3–9*, states:
ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܕ ܗܝ ܐ ܐܬܒܓ ܒܠܛ ܗ ܦܠܓ ܫܠܛ شديد القوّة. ܐܬܒܓ ܒܠܛ ܗ ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܗ ܥܒܕ ܠܥܒܕ العبد العامّى. ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܐܕ ܫܪܟ ܣܪܝܣ ܠܚܪܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܕ ܥܒܕ ܠܥܒܕ ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ. ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܕ ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܕ ܥܒܕ ܒܠܛ ܕ

it to any degree. The Arabic phrase "The common slave" (العبد العامّى) likely functions as a gloss of Aḥob's final two Syriac words "the common servant." The rest of this entry, concerning ܚܕ ܒܫܢܐ, is almost certainly not from Aḥob.

4·3·7 ܚܕ ܫܢܐ

According to the Peshitta, Num 9:22 states:[350]

ܐܘ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܐܘ ܝܪܚܐ.	Either days or months
ܐܘ ܥܕ ܫܢܐ ܚܕ.	or from season to season—
ܕܟܕ ܐܬܪܘܡܡ ܥܠ ܡܫܟܢܐ	as long (as) the cloud continued
ܠܡܫܟܢ ܥܠ ܡܫܟܢܐ.	to dwell over the tabernacle,
ܟܕܢܐ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܫܪܘ ܘܠܐ	thus, the people of Israel remained
ܢܣܥܘ.	and did not set out.
ܘܒܟܕ ܐܬܥܠܝ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܢܣܥܘ.	And when the cloud lifted, they[351] set out.

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܚܕ ܫܢܐ (including this entry word) state:[352]

> ܚܕ ܫܢܐ: In one manuscript, according to Aḥob, "a year or two years" (سنة سنتان). And according to (Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway, "from festival to festival." From time to time every year. For a time, times and a half time, that is to say, seven and a half years. A time. Six months during which I was saying the time. In one manuscript, time. Time to time, that is to say, from year to year. In one manuscript, the whole year.[353]

Aḥob's (spelled "Aḥob" in Arabic)[354] ܚܕ ܫܢܐ scholion is the first of several definitions given in this entry, and it precedes the only other definition in this

350 Duval suggests this is the underlying verse for Aḥob's ܚܕ ܫܢܐ scholion, and it is also the first verse in which this phrase is used in the Peshitta. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

351 Namely, the people of Israel.

352 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), cols. 1407, *24*–1408, *4*, states:
ܚܕ ܫܢܐ ܥܕ سنة سنتان على قول احوب. ܘܐܡܪ ܚ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܐܡܪ من وقت الى وقت فى كل حول. ܚܕ ܫܢܐ ܚܕ ܫܢܐ ܘܫܠܝܫ ܐܝܢ ܫ سبع سنين ونصف. ܐܡܪ ستة اشهر وانا اقول وقت. ܥܕ اوان. ܚܕ ܫܢܐ ܫ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܐܡܪ. ܥܕ ܒܥܕܢ ܐܬܥܠܝ ܥܠܘܗܝ ❊

353 This translation is my own.

354 According to the footnote connected to Aḥob's name in this entry, there is some variation

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entry with an attribution, which in this case is Ḥenanisho‘ bar Seroshway. In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand the meaning of the Peshitta phrase ܫܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. He suggests that it means “a year or two years” (سنة سنتان). It is unclear why, from among the varied meanings of this phrase, Aḥob settles on this particular meaning.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to understand the meaning of ܫܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. He/They likely include Aḥob’s ܫܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ scholion in this entry, because it offers a nuanced definition of this otherwise difficult phrase. While his original scholion has likely been translated from Syriac into Arabic,[355] it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) altered the content of Aḥob’s scholion to any degree. The Syriac and Arabic definitions following Bar Seroshway’s definition are anonymous and likely reflect the work of Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s), rather than Aḥob.

4.3.8 ܚܡܫܝܢ

According to the Peshitta, Exod 29:40 states:[356]

ܘܥܒܕ ܠܡܚܪ ܥܣܪܘܢ ܚܡܫܝܢ	And for the first lamb a tenth measure of fine (flour),
ܒܠܝܠ ܕܟܝܬ ܒܪܒܥ ܗܝܢ	which (is) mingled with a quarter of a hin
ܕܫܡܝܢ ܫܚܝܬ.	of beaten oil
ܘܪܒܥ ܗܝܢ ܝܝܢ	and a quarter of a hin
ܠܢܣܟ ܚܡܪ ܢܣܟܐ ✣.	of wine (for) a drink offering.

The *Lexicon’s* definitions of ܚܡܫܝܢ (including this entry word) state:[357]

in the Bar Bahlul manuscripts concerning the spelling of his name at this point. However, these variations are only attested in select later Bar Bahlul manuscripts. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1408, n. 11 and ibid., (vol. 3), xxvi–xxxix.

355 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar’s Old Testament Exegetical Works.

356 Duval suggests this and Num 28:21 are the underlying verses for Aḥob’s ܚܡܫܝܢ scholion. However, since Exod 29:40 is the first verse (among many in the Pentateuch) in which this noun is used in the Peshitta, it is likely the underlying verse for this Aḥob scholion. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

357 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1450, *4–7*, states:

ܚܡܫܝܢ ܗ ܡ ܚ ܗ ܡ ܫ ܡ ܚ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܡܥܫܪ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܚ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ. ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ ܚܡܫ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ. ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ ܚܡܫ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ. ܚܡܫ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ ܚܡܫ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ.
خمس القفيز زاد المروزى المعشار. ܚܡܫ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܫܪ ܒܠܝܠ ܕܟܝܬ ܒܪܒܥ ܗܝܢ ܕܫܡܝܢ ܫܚܝܬ ✣ ܘܪܒܥ ܗܝܢ ܝܝܢ

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ܥܫܪܝܐ: According to (Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway, "that is to say, one (part) from ten of a *qafiz*." Tithes. A tenth part. In one manuscript, a tenth part. Aḥob (says), "a fifth part of the *qafiz*; the *Marwazi* (measure) is another tenth larger" (خمس القفيز زاد المروزى المعشار). In the Pentateuch, *fine* (*flour*) *which* (*is*) *mingled with a quarter of a hin* (*of*) *oil*.[358]

Aḥob's (spelled "Aḥob"[359]) ܥܫܪܝܐ scholion is situated between a Garshuni gloss of ܥܫܪܝܐ (given as ܥܫܪ)[360] and a quotation from Exod 29:40. In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand the meaning of ܥܫܪܝܐ. He suggests a meaning by equating it with two things: 1) "a fifth part of the *qafiz*" (خمس القفيز), with the "*qafiz*" (قفيز) being an Arabian measure of grain,[361] and 2) "the *Marwazi* (measure) is another tenth larger" (زاد المروزى المعشار), with "the *Marwazi* (measure)" (المروزى) being an otherwise unattested measurement used in the ancient city of Merv, now in Turkmenistan. In essence, Aḥob equates ܥܫܪܝܐ—which he likely understands to be a reference to the biblical tithe, i.e. a tenth of something[362]—with two varying measurements: the *qafiz* and the *Marwazi* (measure), the latter of which is an indication that in Merw it was used for a larger measure, i.e. 30% rather than 20% of something. Aḥob likely mentions the *qafiz* and the *Marwazi* (measure), because both were recognizable measurements used in his time.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to explain the meaning of ܥܫܪܝܐ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܥܫܪܝܐ scholion in this entry, because it offers a nuanced definition of this difficult word. While his original scholion has likely been translated from Syriac into Arabic,[363] it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) altered the content of Aḥob's scholion

358 Exod 29:40. This translation is my own.

359 In a footnote connected to Aḥob's name in this entry, one later Bar Bahlul manuscript spells his name as ܐܚܘܒ. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1450, n. 12 and ibid., (vol. 3), xxvi–xxxix.

360 Payne Smith presents this word in Arabic as عشير. See idem, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2941.

361 According to Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte: umgerechnet ins Metrische System* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), 48, "The oldest reliable information about this volume relates to the *qafiz* of the Ḥaǧǧāǧ, according to which the *qafiz* = *ṣāʿ* of the Prophet, i.e. = 4.2125 liters."

362 See, for example, Lev 27:30. Aḥob is likely not referencing the plural form of ܥܫܪܝܐ, as presented in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, because this form does not occur in the Peshitta; rather, only the forms ܥܫܪܝܐ and ܥܫܪܝܡ are used. See Exod 29:40; Lev 14:10; 23:13, 17; 24:5; Num 15:4, 6, 9; 28:9, 12, 20, 28; 29:3, 9, 14.

363 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

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to any degree. If they did, it is possible that they updated the (now) unknown, underlying Syriac noun to the Arabic *qafīz*.

4.3.9 ܟܬܒܘܬܐ

According to the Peshitta, Job 28:18 states:[364]

ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܘܙܓܓܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܡܟܪ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܐܒܢܝ ܛܒ̈ܥܬܐ ܘܙܟ̈ܝ̈ܐ.	Wisdom is better than precious stones.
ܘܠܐ ܢܬܡܟܪ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܐܒܢܝ ܛܒ̈ܥܬܐ ܘܙܟ̈ܝ̈ܐ.	Incomparable to it is a shining *ptāwtkā*,
ܘܠܐ ܢܬܡܟܪ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܐܒܢܝ ܛܒ̈ܥܬܐ ܘܙܟ̈ܝ̈ܐ.	and (it) cannot be exchanged
ܘܠܐ ܢܬܡܟܪ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܐܒܢܝ ܛܒ̈ܥܬܐ ܘܙܟ̈ܝ̈ܐ.	with emeralds and with chalcedonies.
ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܓܝܪ ܛܒ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܫܘܝ ܠܗ.	For wisdom is better than everything,
ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܓܝܪ ܛܒ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܫܘܝ ܠܗ.	and nothing is comparable to it.

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܟܬܒܘܬܐ (including this entry word) state:[365]

> ܟܬܒܘܬܐ: According to (Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway, "clothing of the ark." Something elevated, highly colored, and shining. And Ayyub says, "it is brocade" (ܐܒ̄ܪ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ). And in his dialect, he calls it "multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment" (ܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ ܟܠ ܡ ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ). Other splendid brocade. *Ptāwtkā* in another fashion (is) a chain, that is to say, a belt and long outer garments interwoven from various colors of embroidered dyed wool and every item which (is) extremely desirable and adorned with many colors or with the images which (are depicted) on robes or with precious stones, which is varicolored with

364 Duval suggests this is the underlying verse for Aḥob's ܟܬܒܘܬܐ scholion. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix. It is also the first verse in which this word is used in the Peshitta.

365 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), cols. 1645, *22*–1646, *14*, states:
ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܓܝܪ ܛܒ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܫܘܝ ܠܗ. ܘܐܒ̄ܪ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ ܐܡ̈ܪ ܕܗܘ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ. ܘܒ ܠܗܓܬܗ ܐܡ̈ܪ ܠܗ ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ ܟܠ ܡ ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ ܟܠ ܡ ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ. ܘܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܐ̈ܚܪ̈ܬܐ ܒܐ̈ܚܪ̈ܬܐ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܡ ܟܠ ܡ

> desirable colors or with emeralds, and in the Arabic language it is called *dībāj*.[366] *"Ptāwtkā dahyā,"* according to (Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway, that is to say, shining, (with reference) to a garment which (is) adorned with colors and shines and its beauty is splendid, that is to say, *there is nothing which* (*is*) *comparable to wisdom*.[367] The high pattern with the different type of brocade. According to (Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway, *"ptāwtkā* with ungodliness (is something) mixed between bad and good."[368]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ayyub"[369]) ܟܬܘܬܟ scholion is situated between two anonymous Arabic glosses of ܟܬܘܬܟ, both of which possibly originate from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob offers a brief explanation of ܟܬܘܬܟ. He suggests that it should be understood as "brocade" (ܒܪܟܐ).[370] He describes this further, according to the language of Qatar, as "multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment" (ܒܪܟܐ ܣܝܡ ܐܝ ܟܠ ܟܬܘܬܟ). Aḥob does not view ܟܬܘܬܟ as a type of stone (as it is presented in Job 28:18); rather, he understands it to be a very ornate cloth, one type of which appears to have been produced in Qatar in his time.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to explain the meaning of ܟܬܘܬܟ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܟܬܘܬܟ scholion in this entry, because it offers a nuanced definition of this otherwise difficult word. At a minimum, Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) has/have notably summarized Aḥob's ܟܬܘܬܟ scholion as part of its inclusion in this entry. Beyond this, it is unclear if he/they altered the content of this Aḥob scholion to any further degree. The anonymous Syriac and Arabic glosses of ܟܬܘܬܟ, which follow Aḥob's scholion, are almost certainly not from Aḥob.

366 Meaning "brocade." The equivalent word in Syriac is ܒܪܟܐ.

367 Cf. Job 28:18.

368 This translation is my own.

369 In a footnote connected to Aḥob's scholion in this entry, one later Bar Bahlul manuscript spells his name as ܐܝܘܒ. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1646, n. 13 and ibid., (vol. 3), xxvi–xxxix.

370 Two later Bar Bahlul manuscripts preserve a different reading of this Aḥob word: instead of ܒܪܟܐ, they read "many" (ܣܓܝ), which is clearly a scribal corruption. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1646, n. 13 and ibid., (vol. 3), xxix, xxxii. For a further discussion of Aḥob's use of ܒܪܟܐ, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

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4.3.10 ܫܠܝܚ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[371]

ܘܡܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕ	And the chief of the eunuchs
ܣܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡܗܬ.	gave names to them.
ܘܩܪܐ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ.	He called Daniel "Belteshazzar"
ܘܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܫܕܪܟ.	and Hananiah "Shadrach"
ܘܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܡܝܫܟ.	and Mishael "Meshach"
ܘܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܥܒܕܢܓܘ.	and Azariah "Abednego."

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܫܠܝܚ (including this entry word) state:[372]

> ܫܠܝܚ: According to (John) bar Daqnana,[373] "a delegate." A messenger. According to (Ḥenanishoʿ) bar Seroshway, "Shadrach, a delegate." He has sent you as a messenger.[374] And Ḥob says that "the chief *of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Hananiah* by this name, (that is to say), a delegate" (.ܫܠܝܚ ܗܘ ܫܡܗ ܕܫܪܟ ܡܢ ܫܡܗܬ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܕܩܪܝ ܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܫܡܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ). (Another) manuscript (says), a righteous brother.[375]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܫܠܝܚ scholion is situated between an anonymous Arabic gloss of ܫܠܝܚ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself, and an anonymous Syriac gloss of ܫܠܝܚ. In his scholion, Aḥob uses a portion of Dan 1:7 to explain the meaning of Hananiah's new name, which was given to him by "the chief of the eunuchs of Nebuchadnezzar" (ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ). However, instead of stating this new name, i.e. Shadrach, Aḥob references it by way

371 Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܫܠܝܚ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

372 The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1937, *1–5*, states:
ܫܠܝܚ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܗ ܫܠܝܚ ܪܣܘܠ. ܫܠܝܚ ܗܘ ܕܫܕܪ ܡܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܫܠܝܚ ܐܪܣܠܟ ܪܣܘܠ. ܘܫܡܗ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܩܪܝ ܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܫܡܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ. ܐܚܪ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܚ ܙܕܝܩ ❖

373 Very little is known about John bar Daqnana. See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 232, n. 2.

374 This Arabic phrase could also be translated as "I am sending you as a messenger" (ارسلك رسول). The person and tense of the verbs are ambiguous. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1937, 2. The Syriac equivalent of "he has sent you" is ܫܠܝܚ.

375 This translation is my own.

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of an etymology, which he insists is "a delegate" (ܫܘܠܝܚܐ). Aḥob may have arrived at this etymology, because he equated the root of ܫܘܠܝܚܐ—which is ܫܠܚ—with the first three letters of ܫܠܝܚ, namely ܫܠܚ.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܫܠܝܚ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܫܠܝܚ scholion in this entry, because his definition was viewed as both authoritative and in agreement with other accepted definitions of ܫܠܝܚ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܫܠܝܚ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. The anonymous Syriac gloss of ܫܠܝܚ, which follows Aḥob's scholion, is almost certainly not from Aḥob.

4.3.11 ܬܪܫܝܫ

There is no particular Peshitta verse that is connected to this entry.[376]

The *Lexicon's* relevant definitions of ܬܪܫܝܫ (including this entry word) state:[377]

> ܬܪܫܝܫ: … In one manuscript, From the lands of the Romans.[378] Ḥob says that "he[379] calls the sea coast '*Tarshish*'" (ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܣܦܚ ܬܪܫܝܫ).[380] Some people have claimed it is China but I am not sure of that. One manuscript (says), Tāhart.[381] Tarshish, that is to say, the shores of the sea. It is one city beside the sea, and its name is set down in Scripture instead of each coastal-district, as a kind of indication. A city on the coast of the sea.[382]

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376 While Duval suggests that the background verse for Aḥob's ܬܪܫܝܫ scholion is Ps 72:10, it is unclear how this specific verse, rather than any other Peshitta verse mentioning ܬܪܫܝܫ (such as 1Kgs 10:22; 22:49; Ps 48:8; Isa 2:16, etc.), is connected to this Aḥob scholion. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

377 The relevant text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 2092, *2–8*, states:
ܬܪܫܝܫ … حتّى من بلاد الروم. ܗܘ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܣܦܚ ܬܪܫܝܫ ܐܝ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܣܝܢ. وقد زعم قوم انّها الصين ولا احقّ ذلك. ܐܝ ܬܐܗܪܬ. ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܝܡ ܐܝ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܣܝܢ ܐܝ ܬܪܫܝܫ ܗ

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob"[383]) ܥܓܝܒ scholion is situated between two anonymous Arabic glosses of ܥܓܝܒ, either of which may have originated from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to explain the importance of ܥܓܝܒ. He does not view it as a city (as it is understood by modern scholarship); rather, he suggests that the biblical writer (whoever this may be) regarded it as a thing, i.e. a "sea coast" (ܣܦܪ ܝܡܐ). Such a view likely implies that Aḥob also regarded ܥܓܝܒ as a non-specific place or region.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܥܓܝܒ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܥܓܝܒ scholion in this entry, because his definition offers a nuanced insight into understanding the importance of ܥܓܝܒ. While it is likely that Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) either received this Aḥob scholion in its current form or has/have only selected a small portion of the original text, it is unclear if he/they altered the extant Aḥob scholion to any degree. The anonymous Syriac and Arabic glosses of ܥܓܝܒ, which follow Aḥob's scholion, are almost certainly not from Aḥob.

4.4 The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Isaac Shbadnaya's Prose Commentary on His *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*,[384] each subsection[385] will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the *sedra*[386] of ms. Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1998 (hereafter shortened to A),[387] in which the Aḥob scholion under discussion is presented; 2) A's Aḥob scholion in this same *sedra*, along with its surrounding context;[388] 3a) an examination of the physical place-

383 In a footnote connected to Aḥob's name in this entry, two later Bar Bahlul manuscripts spell his name as either ܚܘܒ or ܚܘܒ. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 2092, n. 14 and ibid., (vol. 3), xxvi–xxxix.

384 The following manuscript will be used in this section: Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1998 (1558).

385 The presentation of Shbadnaya's Aḥob scholia follows the natural progression occurring within his prose commentary on his *Poem*.

386 For a brief description, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition (specifically, the section on Isaac Shbadnaya) and Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 204.

387 Carlson uses the same siglum in his edition of Shbadnaya's use of the writers of Qatar. This manuscript is also the oldest, extant witness to Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*. See Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 173.

388 The Shbadnaya Aḥob scholia presented in this section are taken from Chapter 2, Subsec-

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ment of each Aḥob scholion within A's Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, c) a proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion; 4) the possible reason(s) why Shbadnaya included each Aḥob scholion in his prose commentary on his *Poem*.

4.4.1 *Calendrical Scholion*

This Aḥob scholion is presented in the "*sedra* of Ṣādhē: On the Passion of our Lord" (ܣܕܪܐ ܕܨܕܐ ܥܠ ܚܒܪܐ ܕܡܪܢ), which is the 20th *sedre* in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*.[389]

A's Aḥob scholion in this *sedra*, along with its surrounding context, states:[390]

> *The curtain of the temple* was torn,[391] with the utterance "We are departing,"[392] for an indication that the divine Shekinah had departed from

tion 2.2.2. Other Scholia, which is based on Carlson's edition of these same texts. For the manuscripts Carlson used in his edition, see idem, "The Future of the Past," 173–174.

389 Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 211 and A, f. 114v[mg].

390 The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in A, ff. 122r, *4–15*; 123r, *6*–123v, *1* and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.1. Calendrical Scholion, states:

ܕܟܬܝܒ ܡܢ ܦܬܪ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ. ܒܬܪܝܟ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܝܟ ܒܟ
ܟܬܒ ܕܡܥܠ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܫܘܢ ܟܬܝܒ. ܕܒܟܬܒ ܒܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ. ܕܟܬܒ
ܘܐܡܪ ܕܟܬܒ. ܠܥܠ ܕܟܬܒ. ܕܟܬܒ ܠܟܬܒ ܒܝܠ ܕܟܬ ܕܟܬ. ܐܬ ܐܬ
ܒܟܬܒ ܕܟܬ ܒܟ. ܕܟܬܒ ܒܟ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܬ. ܕܟܬ ܕܟܬ ܒܟ ܐܡܪ ܕܟ
ܕܟܬ. ܕܟܬ ܕܟܬ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܬ ܒܟ ܕܟܬ ܒܟ ܕܟ ܒܟ ܕܟ ܒܟ ܕܟ
ܕܟ ܒܟ ܕܟ ܒܟ ܕܟ ܒܟ ܕܟ ܒܟ ܕܟ

it,[393] and the types of the laws[394] had ceased from it, and it was prepared for devastation and burning and a robber who committed a myriad of evils.[395] For with one word he seized it for the kingdom of heaven, for an indication that he is the one who pardons (our) debts and (our) sins, and he is the Lord of the kingdom. *And the graves were opened*[396] and five hundred dead people were raised,[397] for the declaration that he is the one who raises the dead (ones) and the renewer of the living.[398] Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya: There was a custom for the Jews that when the fourteenth was falling on the Sabbath, there were two laws which were breaking one another in one day, that is to say, the fourteenth and the Sabbath. On the Sabbath they were commanded, *you*[399] *shall not do any work on it*,[400] and

tecost saying, "We are departing," is attributed to Josephus by Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (to the year 2047 in the Latin translation and 2048 in the Armenian translation), and it is also repeated by Michael the Syrian (1126–1199). See Josef Karst (ed.), *Eusebius Werke: Band 5: Die Chronik aus dem Armenischen übersetzt* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911), 213; Jean Baptiste Aucher (ed.), *Eusebii Pamphili caesariensis episcopi Chronicon bipartitum: nunc primum ex armeniaco textu in latinum conversum adnotationibus auctum graecis fragmentis exornatum*, vol. 2 (Venice: Typis Coenobii PP. Aermenorum in Insula s. Lazari, 1818), 265, 267; Jean Baptiste Chabot (ed.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 152 (VI.1, paragraph 94).

393 Cf. Ezek 10:4–22.

394 This is a pluralized form, which likely references the Law in broad scope.

395 Luke 23:39–43.

396 Matt 27:52; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45.

397 In the Gospels, only Matt 27:52 refers to the dead rising after the temple curtain was torn: it states "many" (ܣܓܝܐ), not 500. In 1Cor 15:6, Paul mentions that Jesus "appeared to more than 500 brothers" (ܒܪܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܫܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܐܚܝܢ) after his resurrection. In his commentary on Matt 27:52, Isho'dad states "500" (ܚܡܫ ܡܐܐ) people rose from the dead after the temple curtain was torn. His commentary on 1Cor 15:6 focuses on the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "Five hundred brethren" (ܚܡܫ ܡܐܐ ܐܚܝܢ). However, for his interpretation of this phrase, he relies on two anonymous sources and Theodore, none of whom situate these 500 people as rising from the dead after the temple curtain was torn. See Gibson, *Vol. 2: Matthew and Mark in Syriac*, 190, *17*; idem, *Vol. 1: Translation*, 114; Gibson, *Vol. 5.1: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle in Syriac*, 63, *8*; idem, *Vol 5.2: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle in English*, 41. The origin of this tradition may be a conflation of Matt 27:52 and 1Cor 15:6.

398 Much of this part of Shbadnaya's text (i.e. prior to the citation of Aḥob) is almost identical to Isho'dad's commentary on Matt 27:52–53. See Gibson, *Vol. 2: Matthew and Mark in Syriac*, 190, *10–18* and idem, *Vol. 1: Translation*, 113–114. Aḥob is not cited here in Isho'dad.

399 This is pluralized.

400 Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; 16:8.

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you[401] *shall not kindle a fire in all of your*[402] *dwelling place*.[403] And on "*the fourteenth*, between evenings, kill[404] the Passover lamb and roast[405] (it) *on a fire* and eat[406] (it)."[407] When this occurred, in the year our Lord suffered, it appeared to the Jews that they should celebrate the feast on the sixth day, and they should call it a "partaker" in the feast, that is to say, the eve of the Sabbath, that is to say, it is mingled, and it is mixed with the feast. While they (were) slaughtering the Passover lamb on the sixth day and regarding the Passover (as) a Sabbath, for (on) the day of Passover, that is to say, the Sabbath, they were preparing on the day of the eve of the Sabbath cold foods like beets and salt and some small herbs which (are) wild, etc. This (is) also what they were handing down to eat for those who were far off and were not (going to) be found in Jerusalem (during) the fast at the time of the fourteenth. When they set (one) necessity with the (other) necessity, the necessity of the Sabbath (was) for those who (were) in Judea, and the necessity of the Holy Place (was) for the ones who were near (to it). And, in this way, Jews in every place also do (this) until now. Author: The day of Passover fell on a Sabbath, and it was performed on Friday, on the thirteenth (day) in April[408] according to the lunar calendar,[409] and the twenty-sixth (day) in March[410] according to the solar calendar.[411] And know that, with (respect to) Passover, when you see the Jews not practicing Passover in two codes—that is to say, in *zyḥd* and in *ḥyzg*—when they precede us by one day, while they say, "We do not call the fourteenth of the lunar calendar[412] above the fourteenth of the solar calendar,"[413] and in these two codes they rightly find fault with us, because it is right that Passover should be (on) the fifteenth and not (on) the eighteenth or (on) the seventeenth, and in these two we do not agree with

401 This is pluralized.
402 This is pluralized.
403 Exod 35:3.
404 This is a masculine plural imperative.
405 This is a masculine plural imperative.
406 This is a masculine plural imperative.
407 Cf. Exod 12:6, 8.
408 Lit. "Nisan" (ܢܝܣܢ).
409 Lit. "according to the moon" (ܟܝܪܚܐ).
410 Lit. "Adar" (ܐܕܪ).
411 Lit. "according to the sun" (ܟܬܘܢܝܐ).
412 Lit. "of the moon" (ܟܝܪܚܐ).
413 Lit. "of the sun" (ܟܬܘܢܝܐ).

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them. However, in the rest we do not change, and do not be ensnared (by the fact) that we do not celebrate Passover with them.[414]

Aḥob's lengthy scholion is situated between an anonymous commentary on the events which followed Christ's crucifixion and a commentary, attributed to "Author" (ܟܬܒܐ), on the varied dates of Passover. Both of these surrounding texts may have been written by Shbadnaya himself.[415] In his scholion, Aḥob begins by discussing a "custom" (ܢܡܘܣ) among Jews where "two laws … were breaking one another in one day" (ܕܬܪܝܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܡܬܒܛܠܢ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܚܕ). These laws concern the "fourteenth" (ܐܪܒܥܣܪ) of Nisan (i.e. the date of Passover) "falling on the Sabbath" (ܕܡܬܚܫܒ … ܒܫܒܬܐ). Aḥob quotes two verses—the first of which is likely a conglomeration, from memory, of three verses (Exod 20:10;[416] Deut 5:14;[417] 16:8[418]), and the second of which is a verbatim reproduction of nearly all of Exod 35:3[419]—regarding a few of the things which Jews are forbidden to do on the Sabbath, including general "work" (ܥܒܕ) and starting a "fire" (ܢܘܪܐ) in their homes. He then cites a verse—which is likely a partial composite of Exod 12:6, 8[420]—concerning the

414 My translation is based on an unpublished English translation of Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, which was produced by Thomas A. Carlson, and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.1. Calendrical Scholion.

415 Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 203, n. 50.

416 Exod 20:10 states, "But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. You shall not do any work (on it), you and your son and your daughter and your (male) servant and your maidservant and your animals and your sojourner who (is dwelling) in your cities" (ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܐ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܐܢܬ ܘܒܪܟ ܘܒܬܟ ܘܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܘܒܥܝܪܟ ܘܟܠ ܒܗܡܬܟ ܘܓܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܬܟ).

417 Deut 5:14 states, "But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. You shall not do any work on it, you and your son and your daughter and your (male) servant and your maidservant and your oxen and your donkeys and all your animals and the sojourner who is (dwelling) in your cities, that like you your (male) servant and your maidservant may rest" (ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܐ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܐܢܬ ܘܒܪܟ ܘܒܬܟ ܘܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܘܬܘܪܟ ܘܚܡܪܟ ܘܟܠ ܒܗܡܬܟ ܘܓܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܬܟ ܕܢܢܘܚ ܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ).

418 Deut 16:8 states, "(For) six days you will eat unleavened bread, but the seventh day is a (solemn) assembly to the Lord your God. You shall do no work on it" (ܫܬܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܬܐܟܠ ܦܛܝܪ ܘܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܥܨܪܬ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܐ).

419 Exod 35:3 states, "You shall not kindle a fire in any of your dwelling place(s) on the Sabbath day" (ܠܐ ܬܩܕܚܘܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܬܘܒܬܟܘܢ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ).

420 Exod 12:6, 8 states, "[6] And it shall be kept by you until the fourteenth (day) in this month and all the people of the assembly of the sons of Israel will slaughter (their lambs) at sunset. [8] And they shall eat this flesh while (it is) roasting on a fire, and they shall eat it with unleavened bread (and) bitter herbs" (ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܥܕ ܐܪܒܥܣܪ [6]

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fourteenth, which commands Jews to "kill the Passover lamb" (ܐܟܪ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ) when it is "between evenings" (ܒܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ) and to then "roast (it) on a fire and eat (it)" (ܘܠܡܟܘܠ ܢܝܬܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ). At this point Aḥob shifts to "the year our Lord suffered" (ܫܢܬ ܚܡ ܠܡܪܢ) and states in passing that the convergence of the fourteenth of a given month "falling on the Sabbath" happened in that year.[421] Aḥob further notes that in that year, "it appeared to the Jews that they should celebrate the feast on the sixth day" (ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܗܟܝ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗܘ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܬܝܢ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܠܥܪܘܒܬܗ), namely, on "the eve of the Sabbath" (ܥܪܘܒܬܐ), which is Friday. He clarifies his phrase "they should celebrate the feast on the sixth day" by stating that this new feast day would function as a precursor to the actual Sabbath feast, and it would be named a "'partaker' in the feast" (ܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܒܥܐܕܐ) or something that "is mingled and is mixed with the feast" (ܕܐܬܚ ܒܗ ܒܠܠܐ ܘܡܬܚ ܥܡ). He states that Jews would make themselves ready for the Passover by "slaughtering the Passover lamb" (ܕܢܟܘ ܐܟܪ ܦܨܚܐ) and "preparing ... cold foods like beets and salt and some small herbs which (are) wild" (ܘܡܟܢܝ ... ܒܣܝܡ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܝܐ ܘܡܠܚ ܘܥܫܒ̈ܐ ܙܥܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܐ) on Friday. Aḥob insists that Jews "were handing down" (ܡܫܠܡ ܠܝ) this approach, concerning "the day of Passover" (ܕܢܟܘ ܦܨܚ), to "those who were far off and were not (going to) be found in Jerusalem (during) the fast at the time of the fourteenth" (ܠܐܠܝܢ ܕܪܚܩܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܒܨܘܡ ܒܥܕܢ ܕܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܒܗ). He further reveals that Jews resolved the discrepancy between the conflicting laws of the fourteenth and the "Sabbath" (ܫܒܬ) by asserting that the laws pertaining to the Sabbath were "for those who (were) in Judea" (ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܝܗܘܕܐ) and the laws pertaining to the fourteenth—which Aḥob metonymically refers to as "the Holy Place" (ܕܒܐܬܪ ܩܕܝܫܐ)—were "for the ones who were near (to it)" (ܠܩܪܝܒ̈ܐ). He concludes his scholion by stating that Jews continue this practice "until now" (ܥܕ ܗܫܐ). Aḥob likely intends his scholion to reveal Jews' insistence on continuing to adhere to conflicting Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath.

Shbadnaya was also interested in better understanding how and why Jews followed divergent Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath, as is shown by the fact that he included both Aḥob's Calendrical scholion and the following section beginning with Author, both of which discuss these topics. As Carlson indicates:

[8] ... ܗܢܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܒܥ ܫܒ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝ ... ܘܗܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܒܥ ܫܒ̈ܬ̈ܐ ... ܗܢ ܕܐܡܪ ... ܘܗܢ ܕܐܡܪ ... ܗܢ ...).

421 See also Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 183.

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> The calendrical implications of this conflict are brought out more fully by Shbadnaya in his comments immediately following [Aḥob's scholion], where he discusses the date on which the Passover fell in that year, in both the solar and the lunar calendar, and the reasons why the Jewish Passover lines up with the Christian Holy Week some years but not others.[422]

Shbadnaya has either reworked Aḥob's original Calendrical scholion for theological purposes (though it is unclear to what extent),[423] or he has received it (in its present form) from (an) earlier, unknown source(s). Either way, he likely included this Aḥob scholion in *sedra* Ṣādhē of his prose commentary on his *Poem*, because it provided an authoritative means (i.e. citing Aḥob by name) on which he could shift the focus of this *sedra* from a discussion of the events following Christ's crucifixion to that of things related to Passover.

4.4.2 *Eschatological Scholion*

This Aḥob scholion is presented in the "second *sedra* of Tāw: On the Coming of the Son of Perdition" (ܣܕܪܐ ܕܬ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܒܪ ܐܒܕܢ ܕܓܝܢ), which is the 28th *sedre* in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*.[424]

A's Aḥob scholion in this *sedra*, along with its surrounding context, states:[425]

> Whoever believes and is baptized has eternal life. And for the one who apostatizes (there is) fire and darkness also forever. And, again, he raises

422 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 183–184.

423 Ibid., 171–172. See also Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion. While one cannot know to what extent this Aḥob scholion has been altered, the core of this scholion certainly goes back to Aḥob.

424 This is the second of four *sedras* on Tāw. See Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 211 and A, f. 209r[mg].

425 The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in A, ff. 213v, *13*–214r, *4*; *8*–214v, *2* and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.2. Eschatological Scholion, states:

ܗܘ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ܘܡܬܥܡܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܚܝܐ ܕܥܠܡ. ܘܠܗܘ ܕܡܬܟܦܪ ܐܝܬ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܚܫܘܟܐ ܐܦ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܬܘܒ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܒܪ ܐܒܕܢ ܕܓܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܫܠܡ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܒܟܠ ܥܠܡ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ

> up in glory these (ones) at his right hand and he also brings them into delight without end. And these (ones) standing at his left hand with shame of face and they are sent out to fire and darkness and gnashing of teeth. High and exalted (is) that delight beyond all understanding. And one knows it, the Lord who prepared it for the friends of his love. Aḥob Qaṭraya: Some (people) hand down that the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered (to us), will continue 1596 years, (which is) the number (of years) that the offerings of Jerusalem and of the Law continued. The same blessed (one): It is also handed down that this world will be thirteen indictions from its beginning until its end: the first ten before the coming of Christ, and the (final) three from his coming until the end. Author: It is fitting that we should make known—just as it is given to us by the grace of Christ our hope—concerning the quality of trials and chastisements by the help[426] of God.[427] Briefly, therefore, it is necessary for us to make known to the discerning, just as in two (or) three places that I recall were delineated by us.[428]

Aḥob's scholion is situated between a lengthy fragment from a poem (attributed to Rabban Emmanuel bar Shahhare)[429] concerning various details related to the Final Judgement and a commentary (attributed to "Author" [ܡܐܡܪܐ]) on assorted types of suffering, the latter of which may have been written by Shbadnaya himself.[430] In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to preserve particular eschatological details, which have been "handed down" (ܡܫܬܠܡܢ) from earlier sources.[431] These are presented in two parts. In the first part, Aḥob

426 The scribe of A (possibly Metropolitan Isho'yahb of Soba [Nisibis] and Armenia) misspelled "by his help" (ܒܥܘܪ̈ܗ) and marked it with a superscript line, likely to offset it as a mistake. The correct spelling follows this error. See A, f. 214r, *16–17* and Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 173.

427 The scribe of A accidentally wrote "of our Lord" (ܕܡܪܢ) and marked it with a superscript line, likely to offset it as a mistake. The correct wording follows this error. See A, f. 214r, *17*.

428 My translation is based on an unpublished English translation of Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, which was produced by Thomas A. Carlson, and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.2. Eschatological Scholion.

429 Bar Shahhare's name is presented earlier in this prose commentary in its shortened form as "Rabban Emmanuel" (ܡܪܢ ܥܡܡܘܐܝܠ). See A, f. 211r, *16*. For a brief introduction to Bar Shahhare, see Lucas Van Rompay, "Emmanuel bar Shahhare," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 143–144.

430 Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 203, n. 50.

431 For a further discussion of these sources, see Chapter 5, Section 5.7. The Eschatology of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

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makes a comparison "based on symmetry with the sacrificial system of the Old Testament"[432]—what he calls "the offerings of Jerusalem and of the Law" (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܕܢܡܘܣܐ)—and "the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered" (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܫܠܡ). Just as the former was effectuated for "1596 years" (ܐܠܦ ܘܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬ ܫܢܝܢ), so "the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered" will endure for the same number of years.

In the second part, Aḥob states a numerological interpretation[433] that divides world history (likely beginning with year 1, as described in Gen 1) into thirteen "indictions" (ܐܝܢܕܝܩܛܘܢ), all of which are intended to specify when the end will occur. Aḥob asserts that the "first ten (transpired) before the coming of Christ" (ܫܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܬܝܗ ... ܥܣܪ), and there will be "three from his coming until the end" (ܬܠܬ ܡܢ ܡܬܝܗ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܐ). He unfortunately does not develop these insights any further.

Shbadnaya is also interested in eschatology, which is shown by the multiple writers he cites over many folios on this particular topic. Concerning Aḥob's Eschatological scholion, he has either selected two unconnected fragments of the original scholion or he has received it (in its fragmented form) from (an) earlier, unknown source(s). Either way, it is likely that he has altered (at minimum) select aspects of this scholion.[434]

In Byzantine sources, the usual meaning for the singular noun "indiction" is a cycle of 15 years, as well as each year in this cycle.[435] However, Shbadnaya seems to be reinterpreting "indictions" (in this Aḥob scholion) according to "the 532-year cycle of Easter dates in the Julian calendar, so that both of these passages [i.e. both parts of this Aḥob scholion] agree on a period of 1596 years following the coming of Christ."[436] While Carlson has noted that Shbadnaya may be drawing some of his numerological insights from the *Book of the Bee* (which offers a close number compared to Aḥob's time span, namely, 1629 years),[437] he further suggests "that 1596 years after the resurrection of Christ is almost exactly the year 1000 in the [Islamic] Hijri calendar[, which] suggests

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432 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

433 Cf. ibid.

434 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 171–172. See also Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion. While one cannot know to what extent this Aḥob scholion has been altered, the core of this scholion certainly goes back to Aḥob.

435 See, for instance, Yiannis E. Meimaris, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions* (Athens: Eptalophos S.A., 1992), 32–34.

436 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

437 Cf. ibid. and n. 106–107.

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that this calculation was influenced by the expectations of the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius."[438] If the resurrection of Christ is believed to have occurred in roughly 341 AG[439] (i.e. AD 30), according to the Syriac chroniclers,[440] and the various dates (including the Hijri calendar [*Anno Hegirae*])[441] stated above are placed in a table, it would appear as follows:

Seleucid era (AG)	Hijri calendar (AH)	Anno Domini (AD)
1937/1938 AG	1035 AH	AD 1626

However, if Carlson's proposal is slightly modified and Aḥob's 1596 years is begun with the birth of Christ (i.e. 309 AG [i.e. -3/-2 BC] according to these same Syriac chroniclers),[442] the above dates would be changed to the following:

Seleucid era (AG)	Hijri calendar (AH)	Anno Domini (AD)
1905 AG	1001/1002 AH	AD 1593/1594

Other potential combinations of dates, using Aḥob's 1596 years or the year 1000 (which are not similar to the above tables)[443] include the following:

438 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

439 This is the East Syriac Seleucid Era (i.e. *Anno Graecorum*).

440 See Muriel Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam. Avec des répertoires des textes historiographiques en annexe* (Late Antique History and Religion 12; Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 274 for several dates of Christ's Passion, as it was dated by a number of Syriac writers. Since Christ rose from the dead three days after the conclusion of his Passion, the same year can be assumed for his resurrection. Thus, if these suggested dates are averaged, the date for Christ's resurrection is roughly 341 AG or AD 30.

441 All dates, according to the Hijri calendar, are taken from Habib, "Islamic Hijri Calendar For 1400 Years," accessed 7 March 2020, https://habibur.com/hijri/ and idem, "Islamic Hijri Calendar For Muharram—1596 Hijri," accessed 7 March 2020, https://habibur.com/hijri/1596/1/.

442 Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque*, 272.

443 For 1000 AH: 1903/1904 AG = 1000 AH = AD 1592, and for AD 1596: 1907/1908 AG = 1004 AH = AD 1596.

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	Seleucid era (AG)	Hijri calendar (AH)	Anno Domini (AD)
For 1000 AG:	1000 AG	68/69 AH	AD 688/689
For AD 1000:	1311/1312 AG	390 AH	AD 1000
For 1596 AG:	1596 AG	683/684 AH	AD 1284/1285
For 1596 AH:	2481/2482 AG	1596 AH	AD 2170

Each of these dates are arguably less convincing than the previously suggested dates for one of two reasons: 1) they either transpired long before Shbadnaya lived, or 2) they have not yet occurred, i.e. 1596 AH. Since the only date that can be fixed to Shbadnaya is 1751 AG (i.e. AD 1439/1440),[444] the most plausible explanation is that he has reinterpreted Aḥob's 1596 years in light of the Hijri calendar, meaning he anticipated the conclusion of Aḥob's 1596 years around 1001/1002 AH, a date which is very close to 1000 AH and is also only 154 years (AG) beyond his own time. If this revised proposal is accepted, it would imply that Shbadnaya expected the end of time to come a few generations after his own time.

Beyond the particulars of trying to understand how he interpreted Aḥob's 1596 years, Shbadnaya likely included Aḥob's Eschatological scholion in his prose commentary on his *Poem*, because it provided a more tangible date—at least compared to the preceding Bar Shahhare fragment—of when the end would happen.[445]

4.5 Conclusion

Isho'dad preserves more of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works than any other known East Syriac writer. Of the 16 anonymized Aḥob scholia he uses (all of which are included as part of the main text of his works), 2 are found in his *Commentary on Genesis* (i.e. Genesis 15:9–10; 50:10), 1 in *1 Samuel* (i.e. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6), and 13 in *Psalms* (i.e. Psalm 5:4; 29:9; 31:6; 39:4–6; 40:8; 42:2; 45:9; 68:14; 68:16–17; 104:2–3; 105:17–19; 110 Prologue; 110:3). He also utilizes 7 anonymized fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in the introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*. Isho'dad is selective in both his use and preservation of Aḥob's

444 Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 197–198.

445 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

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Old Testament exegetical works. While this is observable in his use of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10; 50:10; 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholia, it is more pronounced in his use of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and omission of roughly 5½ Aḥob Psalms scholia (i.e. Psalm 39:2; 45 Prologue; 48:4; 58:4, 58:5–6; vv. 17–18 of Psalm 105:17–19), at least according to what can be compared with Aḥob's Psalm-related writings prefixed to/preserved in the *DGC*.[446] He rarely includes a given Aḥob scholion verbatim. Rather, he typically interacts with it, either selecting only the parts that interest him or presenting it in order to disagree with it, such as is the case with Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 and 1Samuel 8:1, 6 scholia. One of the ways in which Isho'dad reworks select Aḥob scholia is that he interweaves fragments of Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on a given verse with parts of the parallel Aḥob scholion on the same verse. Examples of this include Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 and v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4–6 scholia. With the exception of Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion, Isho'dad does not interact with or preserve any Aḥob Old Testament exegetical work that is not found elsewhere in the East Syriac exegetical tradition in a fuller (presumably unaltered) form, meaning his use of these writings evidences (on a greater scale than Bar Koni's) how several of Aḥob's exegetical works were developed by a single writer in the East Syriac exegetical tradition. Given the number of Aḥob's exegetical works he uses in his *Commentary on Genesis*, *1Samuel*, and *Psalms*, Isho'dad arguably had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works but only selected what interested him for inclusion in his Old Testament commentaries.

Possibly due to general interest in the Psalms, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* was used by one manuscript tradition (i.e. late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts)[447] and three separate writers (i.e. Nathniel, Bar Koni, and Isho'dad), revealing that Aḥob had a significant impact upon subsequent East Syriac thought concerning the importance of the Psalms. While Nathniel, Bar Koni, and Isho'dad were aware (to varying degrees) of Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* appears to have functioned as their preferred reworked version of this earlier text.[448]

The *AC* preserves 5 Aḥob scholia, four of which are attributed to Aḥob in all known *AC* manuscripts; its Gen 15:9–10 text is only attributed to Aḥob in later *AC* manuscripts. Of these 5 Aḥob scholia, two are marginal notes (i.e. 1Samuel 8:1, 6 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18) and three (i.e. Genesis 15:9–10; 50:10; Numbers 21:19)

446 Cf. Molenberg, "The Interpreter Interpreted," 219.

447 See Chapter 3, Section 3.4. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*.

448 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

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are presented as part of the main text, either as the primary authority on or a contributing voice in the interpretation of these verses. Aḥob's marginal scholia were added to D by a later, unknown scribe. At minimum, he had access to these two Aḥob scholia (whereas the unknown scribe of D likely did not) and was also seeking to expand the *AC* manuscript tradition in select verses. The *AC's* secondary usage of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion has been little altered from its source, namely the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. Its usage of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion is unique, in that it is the only instance within the East Syriac exegetical tradition where an Aḥob Old Testament scholion is developed in a tertiary manner (beginning with its usage in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, which is developed by Isho'dad, which is then further developed by the *AC*). While its Aḥob Numbers 21:19 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholia are unattested elsewhere, its Aḥob 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion was also used by Isho'dad. However, he only offered a summary of this scholion; the *AC* presents its fuller (and presumably unaltered) form. As Ter Haar Romeny has noted:

> The simplest explanation for [the *AC's* development of both the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* and Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10; 50:10 scholia] … is a procedure which we often see in East Syriac exegetical collections: they tend to work on the basis of an earlier core, to which they add new material. When they come across parallel material, that is, material from their additional sources which is already present in some form in the earlier core, they often give a fuller reading or they add further information.[449]

The *AC's* usage of only 5 attributed Aḥob scholia (in its entire Old Testament commentary) reveals that its scribes had direct access to some Aḥob Old Testament scholia. They also had indirect access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works (via Isho'dad) but were intentionally selective of what they chose for inclusion in the *AC*.

It is worth noting that of all his extant scholia, Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion was the most widely used, being utilized by two separate manuscript traditions (i.e. the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* and the *AC*) and two separate writers (i.e. Bar Koni and Isho'dad). While this may be the result of historical happenstance (i.e. certain manuscripts survived for later use while others did not for a variety of reasons), it, nevertheless, reflects the interests of the East Syriac exegetical tradition, in that Gen 15:9–10 was viewed as an important (and

449 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 141–142.

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difficult to understand) text and Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion provided an authoritative explanation of these two verses.

Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* attributes 11 scholia to Aḥob (often spelled Ḥob) in eleven separate entries (i.e. ܟܗܠܩܗ, ܚܠܥܝ, ܥܢܫ, ܟܩܦ, ܒܚܕܒܝ, ܒܚܕ ܠܒ, ܒܚܕ ܒ, ܒܚܕ ܒ, ܟܗܘܬ, ܟܫܘܫ, ܥܢܫ, and ܒܪܝܫ). These Aḥob scholia are presented as either etymological glosses of proper names or brief definitions of various biblical words and/or phrases, all of which are noticeably less sophisticated than Aḥob's other extant Old Testament exegetical works. Each Bar Bahlul Aḥob scholion is likely only a fraction of its original length.[450] Aside from the alteration that can be shown by way of comparison between Aḥob's comment in the *Lexicon's* ܟܗܠܩܗ entry and Aḥob's parallel Psalm 45:9 scholion in the *DGC*, it is difficult to know the extent of the changes that were likely made to Aḥob's scholia in the *Lexicon*, though it is probable that all of the Arabic words/phrases attributed to Aḥob were originally written in Syriac, prior to being included in the *Lexicon*. While all 11 of these Aḥob scholia were added to the *Lexicon* at an early date (probably from its inception), it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob Old Testament exegetical works or if his/their unknown source(s) only preserved the Aḥob scholia that are now included in the *Lexicon*. Either way, 10 of the 11 Aḥob scholia in the *Lexicon* are otherwise unattested (in their attributed form),[451] suggesting that Bar Bahlul

450 The lack of sophistication in these Aḥob scholia arguably arises from their being reworked by later writers, rather than from the possible notion that they should be considered (something along the lines of) pseudo-Aḥobian scholia. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.1. ܟܗܠܩܗ.

451 Bar Koni (in *Memra* v, 11 and 14 [numbers 3 and 5]), Isho'dad (in his commentary on Dan 1:7; 11:31), and the *AC* (in its commentary on Dan 1:7; 11:31) also preserve the equivalent of Aḥob's ܚܠܥܝ, ܥܢܫ, ܥܢܫ, ܒܚܕ ܠܒ, ܒܚܕ ܒ, ܒܚܕ ܒ, and ܟܩܦ scholia. See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (vol. 1), 341, *22*, 346, *2–5* and n. 5; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni* (*recension de Séert*) (vol. 1), 286, 289; Van den Eynde, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (text), 103, *9–11*, 128, *11*; idem, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), 118, 147; D, ff. 234v, *24–26*, 242r, *32–33*. Isho' bar Nun (in his *Selected Questions on Psalms*; ms. Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2017, f. 52v, *14–15*) preserves the rough equivalent of Aḥob's ܟܩܦ scholion only. All of these parallel texts (in Bar Koni, Isho' bar Nun, Isho'dad, and the *AC*) are presented anonymously. While it is theoretically possible that (concerning the abovementioned Aḥob scholia) there is a complex relationship between Bar Bahlul and these earlier sources, the more likely explanation is that these etymologies were widespread in popular use, implying that Bar Bahlul is not relying on Bar Koni, Isho' bar Nun, Isho'dad, or the *AC* (at least concerning these Aḥob scholia) but, rather, on another/other unknown source(s) which preserved these Aḥob scholia in their attributed form. For a discussion of one of Bar Bahlul's possible sources for Aḥob scholia, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works. For an instance of one

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and/or his later editor(s) had access to previously unused Aḥob material from, at the earliest, the mid-10th century.

Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem* preserves 2 scholia that are attributed solely to Aḥob (i.e. his Calendrical and Eschatological scholia).[452] Shbadnaya likely alters aspects of these scholia, though it is also possible that he received them in a modified form from (an) earlier, unknown source(s). Shbadnaya is interested in a number of biblically-related themes and relies on Aḥob's scholia (in part) to explain aspects of them, particularly Mosaic laws surrounding the Passover and Sabbath, as well as eschatological interpretations. Since he only preserves Aḥob scholia that are not extant elsewhere, it is unclear to what extent he had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. In any event, his selectivity of otherwise unattested Aḥob scholia for his prose commentary on his *Poem* evidences the probability that the original number of Aḥob scholia available to the East Syriac exegetical tradition must have been more substantial than what is now extant.

Within the East Syriac exegetical tradition, Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works are unusual, in that the number (and often the length) of his scholia do not diminish through use over time. Rather, previously unused (and/or fuller versions of known) Aḥob scholia were added to late East Syriac exegetical works. This is most notably observed in the *AC*, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, and the *DGC*, the last of which (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875) witnessed the addition of 18 Aḥob scholia, 17 of which are not found elsewhere in the same form.[453] The inclusion of attributed Aḥob scholia in the *DGC* (in several late 19th-century manuscripts)[454] more than doubled the (now) known Aḥob scholia—as they were used and preserved by the earlier East Syriac exegetical tradition—from 17 to 35 scholia. Aḥob's only complete work, *Cause of the Psalms* (in its presumed original form) was also included as part of a diverse collection of documents—the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*—which precedes the *DGC*. Thus, the manner

of these etymologies in popular, anonymized use, see Bensly and Barnes, *The Fourth Book of Maccabees*, **ܡܚܗ**, *3* (Syriac) and xlviii, D (English).

452 For a discussion of a third Aḥob scholion, which is also attributed to Gabriel Qaṭraya, in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion.

453 Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion is preserved in the same form in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms* and in the *DGC*.

454 For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

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by which Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works have been rediscovered and used in the past suggests it is quite possible that previously unused Aḥob Old Testament exegetical works (whole or fragmented) will be found in unstudied or inaccessible East Syriac exegetical works and used in the future.

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CHAPTER 5

The Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

This chapter will present several studies of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works, beginning with a discussion of their original form and their original purpose in the first and second sections, respectively. The third section will consider the text of the Peshitta Old Testament underlying Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. The fourth section, which is the central focus of this chapter, will examine the multiple Greek, Syriac, and other sources utilized by Aḥob to produce his Old Testament exegetical works. Further aspects of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, namely, their Christology, polemics, and eschatology, will be explored in the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections, respectively. The eighth section will analyze the exegetical tendencies of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, in order to highlight their overall distinctiveness within the East Syriac exegetical tradition.

5.1 The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

It must be stated from the outset that Aḥob probably never produced an extended exegetical work, akin to one of the commentaries of Ishoʿdad. The general notion that Aḥob wrote a commentary appears to have originated from ʿAbdishoʿ's *Catalogue of Books*, in which he states that Aḥob "composed a commentary" (ܦܫܝܛܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ) on several books in the Old Testament and on all of the New Testament.[1] In more recent scholarship, Leonhard hints at a similar position by stating that the *DGC* "was expanded by extracts of a similar work by Aḥob of Qatar."[2] Ter Haar Romeny takes a comparable position and states that Aḥob's "introductory treatise and … (Psalm) fragments were taken from a full commentary on the Psalms," though he does admit that ʿAbdishoʿ does not specifically mention that Aḥob wrote such a work.[3]

1 Habbi, *Fihris al-muʾallifīn taʾlīf li-ʿAbd Yašūʿ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *793–794*.

2 Clemens Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139–147* (CSCO 585, Subs. 107; Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 14.

3 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 147.

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However, having collected, edited, and analyzed his extant Old Testament exegetical works (in Chapters 2–4), the available data suggests that—contrary to ʿAbdishoʿ, Leonhard, and Ter Haar Romeny—Aḥob likely produced his Old Testament exegetical works (with the exception of his *Cause of the Psalms*)[4] in the form of scholia. There are a few pieces of primary evidence supporting this proposal:

– The majority of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia seek to define and/or understand difficult Peshitta words and phrases.[5]
– Several of his Old Testament scholia focus on Peshitta words and phrases beginning with the letter ܐ,[6] three of which center around words related to ܐܠܗ.[7]
– With one possible exception,[8] Aḥob does not reference back or forth in his Old Testament scholia.

This final piece of evidence is perhaps the strongest indicator that Aḥob originally wrote his Old Testament exegetical works in the form of scholia. However, these pieces of evidence alone do not establish any particular original form for his Old Testament scholia.

Turning to the scribal history of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, there are a few pieces of secondary evidence supporting the scholia proposal:

– No East Syriac manuscript tradition or writer ever uses the phraseology "According to Aḥob's commentary …"; rather, the phrases "According to Aḥob" (ܠܐܚܘܒ),[9] "According to Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܠܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ),[10]

4 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is not a scholion but a complete prose introduction to the Psalms. For a discussion of this work, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.1. *Cause of the Psalms*. For the remainder of this section only, the phrase "Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works" refers to all of his extant Old Testament exegetical works, with the exception of his *Cause of the Psalms*.

5 These include the following 30 (of 35 extant) scholia: Genesis 15:9–10, Genesis 50:10, ܚܨܝܪܐ, ܚܨܝܪ ܚܨܝܪ, Numbers 21:19, ܟܦܪܢܚܡ, Psalm 5:4, Psalm 29:9, Psalm 31:6, Psalm 39:2, Psalm 39:4–6, Psalm 40:8, Psalm 42:2, Psalm 45:9, Psalm 48:4, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5–6, Psalm 68:14, Psalm 68:16–17, Psalm 104:2–3, Psalm 105:17–19, Psalm 110:3, ܐܪܥ, ܐܠܗܝܢ, ܚܨܝܪ ܠܗ, ܟܢܥܢ, ܐܪܥ, ܐܦܚܪܢܝ, Bar Sira 14:12, 18, and ܟܚܦܨ.

6 These include the following 5 (of 35 extant) scholia: Psalm 29:9, Psalm 45 Prologue, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5–6, and Bar Sira 14:12, 18.

7 These include the following scholia: Genesis 50:10, Psalm 31:6, and Psalm 39:2.

8 For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.3. Psalm 29:9.

9 See D, f. 53v, *1*, f. 133r^{mg}; O, f. 47v, *16*, f. 377v, *19*; K, f. 56v, *17*, f. 158v, *16*; P, f. 23v, *9*, f. 49r, *8*, f. 118v, *10*; A, f. 49r, *4*, f. 139r, *6*; V, f. 6v, *1*, f. 53r, *5*; V^2, f. 21r, *11*, f. 52v, *15*, f. 143r, *1*; M^2, f. 12r, *15*, f. 31v, *11*, f. 89v, *10*.

10 See D, f. 83v^{mg}.

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"According to Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܟܬܒ ܡܪ ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ,ܟܬ),[11] and "Ḥob says/Ayyub said" (ܐܡܪ ܐܚܘܒ / ܐܚܘܒ ܐܡܪ / ܐܚܘܒ ܐܡܪ)[12] are used. His name, both with an honorary title, i.e. "Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܟܬܒ ܡܪ ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ,ܟܬ),[13] and alone, whether "Aḥob" (ܐܚܘܒ)[14] or "Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܟܬܒ ܡܪ ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ),[15] are also used to begin a given entry or Old Testament exegetical work.[16]

– Every attributed Aḥob Old Testament exegetical work is preserved in the form of scholia, from the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (in the first half of the 8th century) to the *DGC* (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875).

Further evidence for the scholia proposal may be found in observing the manner by which Aḥob's Old Testament scholia were disseminated in the East Syriac exegetical tradition:

– Though there is no extant evidence that Aḥob's Old Testament scholia were used by any East Syriac manuscript tradition or writer before the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, it is likely that they were being used in some capacity during the 7th century.[17]
– The unknown author of the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* likely had direct access to, at minimum, Aḥob's original Genesis scholia.
– Bar Koni likely relied on the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* or a similar (now lost) exegetical collection for his knowledge of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion.
– The *DGC* manuscript tradition likely had direct access to what remained of Aḥob's Psalm scholia in the late 19th century for the following two reasons:
  – Joseph Audo, the scribe of ms. Mosul 20 (1875) is likely the compiler of the *Book of the Causes of the Psalms*, though he only included 4 documents

11 See V, p. 3, *4–5*; L, f. 1v, *10–11*; M, f. 1v, *11*; S, f. 1r, *5*; C, f. 12v, *2*.

12 See B, col. 223, *13–14*, col. 397, *12*, col. 1077, *16*, col. 1143, *4*, col. 1212, *3*, col. 1400, *5*, cols. 1645, *23*–1646, *1*, col. 1937, *3*, col. 2092, *3*.

13 See F, p. 182, *2*.

14 See V, p. 34, n. 4, p. 38, n. 7, p. 46, *11*, p. 48, n. 2; L, f. 44v^{mg}, f. 46r^{mg}, f. 56r^{mg}, f. 56v, *7*, f. 58v^{mg}, f. 60r, *19*, f. 63v^{mg}, f. 64r^{mg}, f. 67r^{mg}, f. 78r, *8*, f. 78r^{mg}, f. 87v^{mg} (2×), f. 128r, *4*, f. 132r^{mg}, f. 140r, *21*, f. 140v^{mg}; M, f. 45r^{mg}, f. 46r^{mg}, f. 56v^{mg}, f. 56v, *20*, f. 58v^{mg}, f. 60v, *2*, f. 63v^{mg}, f. 64r^{mg}, f. 67r^{mg}, f. 77r, *22*, f. 77v^{mg}, f. 86r^{mg} (2×), f. 126r, *6*, f. 130r^{mg}, f. 138r, *28*, f. 139r, *3*; S, f. 85r^{mg}, f. 87r^{mg}, f. 106v^{mg}, f. 107r, *15*, f. 110r^{mg}, f. 111r^{mg}, f. 112v^{mg}, f. 119r^{mg}, f. 120r^{mg}, f. 126r^{mg}, f. 145r, *13–14*, f. 145r^{mg}, f. 162r^{mg} (2×), f. 235r, *13*, f. 240r^{mg}, f. 256r, *9*, f. 257r^{mg}; C, f. 44r^{mg}, f. 45r^{mg}, f. 54r^{mg}, f. 54r, *21–22*, f. 57r^{mg}, f. 59v^{mg}, f. 60r^{mg}, f. 72r, *26*, f. 72v^{mg}, f. 80r^{mg} (2×), f. 113v, *12*, f. 116r^{mg}, f. 123r, *26*, f. 123v^{mg}; B, col. 1450, *5*.

15 See L, f. 20v^{mg}; M f. 20v^{mg}; S, f. 38r^{mg}; C, f. 24r^{mg}; F, p. 190, *9*.

16 This list does not include the Arabic renderings of Aḥob's name in various sources.

17 Cf. Molenberg, "The Silence of the Sources," 145, 162.

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in this book.[18] He may have also been the first scribe to add select Aḥob Psalms scholia to the *DGC*;[19] however, this cannot be confirmed because this manuscript is inaccessible.
  - Either additional Aḥob Psalms scholia or as many as 18 Aḥob Psalms scholia were added to accessible late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts (i.e. (V)LMS(C)), though it is unclear if V included all 18 Aḥob Psalms scholia, due to Vandenhoff's selective approach.
- Isho'dad likely had direct access to all of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia.
- The *AC* manuscript tradition likely had direct access to, at minimum, 5 Aḥob Old Testament scholia for the following two reasons:
  - Aḥob's 1Samuel 8:1, 6 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholia (in their attributed form) were added to D (= ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22) by a later, unknown scribe. His source is unknown.
  - Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10, Genesis 50:10, and Numbers 21:19 scholia were not consistently attributed to Aḥob until the production of P (= ms. St. Petersburg (*olim* Diettrich 2)), which is dated to around 1700. Its source is unknown.

  At the same time, the *AC* manuscript tradition likely had indirect access to Aḥob's Genesis scholia (via the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*) and Psalms scholia (via Isho'dad), the latter of which were not used.
- Bar Bahlul either had indirect access to all of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia or only those which are preserved in his *Lexicon*. It is possible that he gained access to several Aḥob scholia via Henanisho' bar Seroshway's *Lexicon*, which is now lost.[20] For instance, of the 11 entries containing Aḥob scholia in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, 7 also contain Bar Seroshway's definitions or etymologies, which are presented as either preceding or following a given

18 Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvi; Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii; Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques," 234. In later *DGC* manuscripts, further works were added to this book.

19 Cf. Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvi.

20 Kozah, "Introduction," 17, 61–62 and Minov, "Bar Sarōšway on Melchizedek," 720. George Kiraz reconstructed (what remains of) Henanisho' bar Seroshway's *Lexicon* from Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* but did not include any of Aḥob's Bar Bahlul scholia in his edition. This appears to be based strictly on what he determines to be the beginning and end of a given Bar Seroshway entry, and he admits that some entries may well have originally included fragments from earlier writers. See George Kiraz, "A Reconstruction of the Lexicon of Ḥenanisho' bar Saroshway," in Mario Kozah, George Kiraz, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *Beth Qaṭraye: A Lexical and Toponymical Survey* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 58; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2021), 195–196, 224, *3*, 240, *24*, 338, *6*, 339, *3*, 342, *34*, 370, *5*, 404, *1*.

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Aḥob scholion.[21] If accepted, it must be stated that Bar Seroshway's source for these 7 Aḥob scholia is unknown, and it is also unclear what Bar Bahlul's source would have been for the other 4 Aḥob scholia he cites in his *Lexicon*.[22]

– Isaac Shbadnaya either had direct access to some of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia, or he relied on an earlier, unknown source.

Bar Bahlul, Shbadnaya, and, to some extent, the *DGC*[23] use Aḥob material that is unattested elsewhere in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, revealing that Aḥob material (which was unexploited by earlier surviving sources) was available from the mid-10th century until the late 19th century. This is unusual, in that most collections of scholia tend to reduce both in number and in individual size as later scribes no longer have access to the original manuscript(s) and can only interact with the scholia alone, whereby some (or parts of some) are selected for inclusion in their works and others are disregarded and eventually lost. It is almost certain that the 35 extant Aḥob Old Testament scholia do not encompass the totality of his original scholia but rather likely reflect later scribal selection. While the exact number of his original scholia cannot be known, it is reasonable to suggest that their collective number was undoubtedly larger than what is currently known.

Similarly, the individual size of several Aḥob Old Testament scholia was likely longer in their original form. Unlike their number, the original length of several Aḥob Old Testament scholia can be established. For instance, though he does not write in a consistently formulaic manner, Aḥob's extant Old Testament scholia can be categorized into 4 broad types:

1) notes on a single Peshitta word or phrase
2) notes on multiple Peshitta words and/or phrases
3) definitions and etymologies
4) other notes.

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21 These 7 Bar Bahlul Aḥob scholia are the following: Psalm 45:9 (presented, in part, in the ܟܗܠܩܪ entry), ܚܠܥܙ, ܚܕ ܒܗ, ܚܕ ܚܕ, ܚܕ ܚܕ, ܚܡܫܟ, ܟܗܘܗ, and ܥܙܙ. The presentation of these Aḥob scholia, in conjunction with Bar Seroshway's definitions and/or etymologies, likely reflects Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) choice of arrangement.

22 These 4 Bar Bahlul Aḥob scholia are the following: ܒܥܙ, ܟܩܛ, ܢܚܡܙ, and ܥܙܝ.

23 Isho'dad preserves several Aḥob Psalms scholia also found in the *DGC*, though the *DGC* likely preserves their presumed original form. The Aḥob Psalms scholia found in the *DGC*, but not in Isho'dad, include the following: Psalm 39:2, Psalm 45 Prologue, Psalm 48:4, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5–6, and vv. 17–18 of Psalm 105:17–19.

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Concerning the scholia that are notes on a single Peshitta word or phrase, each consists of 3 parts in the following order:

A) a Peshitta word or phrase beginning the scholion
B) a commentary on this Peshitta word or phrase
C) one or more glosses of this Peshitta word or phrase from a non-Syriac language often (though not exclusively) concluding the scholion.

If each relevant Aḥob Old Testament scholion were divided into these 3 parts and numerically ordered according to its extant progression, each would appear as follows:

	A	B	C
Genesis 50:10	3	2	1
Psalm 5:4		1	
Psalm 29:9		1	
Psalm 31:6	1	2	
Psalm 39:2		1	
Psalm 40:8		1	
Psalm 42:2		1	
Psalm 45:9		2	1 / 3
Psalm 48:4	1	2	
Psalm 58:4	1	2	3
Psalm 58:5–6		1	2
Psalm 68:14			1
Psalm 68:16–17			1
Psalm 110:3		1 / 3	2

Concerning the scholia that are notes on multiple Peshitta words and/or phrases, each consists of 4 parts:

A) (an) introductory Aḥobian word(s) (which may or may not include Peshitta words)
B) a Peshitta word or phrase
C) a commentary on this Peshitta word or phrase
D) (repeating parts B–C, with subsequent Peshitta words and phrases, one or more times).

If each relevant Aḥob Old Testament scholion were divided into these 4 parts and numerically ordered according to its extant progression, each would appear as follows:

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	A	B	C	D
Genesis 15:9–10	1	2	3	4
Psalm 39:4–6		1	2	3
Psalm 104:2–3[24]	1	2	3	4
Psalm 105:17–19	1	2	3	
Bar Sira 14:12, 18		1	2	3

Concerning the scholia that are definitions and etymologies, each consists of 2 parts:

A) a Peshitta word or phrase

B) one or more definitions or etymological commentaries on this Peshitta word or phrase.

If each relevant Aḥob Old Testament scholion were divided into these 2 parts and numerically ordered according to its extant progression, each would appear as follows:

	A	B
ܚܨܘܢ		1
ܚܙ ܚܙ		1
ܚܟܘܟ		1
ܚܙܝ		1
ܚܠܝ	1	2
ܚܙ	1	2
ܚܙ	1	2
ܚܙ ܠܟ	1	2
ܚܙܝ		1
ܚܩܚ		1

Concerning the scholia that are other notes, there are no parts shared in common by all of them. Each scholion will be briefly described by the order of its extant parts in what follows:

24 This particular scholion also has a diagrammatic illustration connected to it.

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Numbers 21:19	A note on a stone that functioned as a portable well
1Samuel 8:1, 6	A summary of 1Sam 8:1–6
Psalm 45 Prologue	A prologue to Ps 45 and also a polemic against a Jewish interpretation of this psalm
Psalm 110 Prologue	A prologue to Ps 110 and also a polemic against a Jewish interpretation of this psalm
Calendrical	A lengthy note on divergent Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath followed by Jews up to the late 6th century
Eschatological	A presentation of 2 related eschatological systems

Though it cannot be proven that each Aḥob Old Testament scholion was originally written with each part of its respective broad type (as presented above), the above tables (with the possible exception of 1 scholion from the final one)[25] suggest two related things: 1) many Aḥob Old Testament scholia were likely longer in their original form, and 2) many Aḥob Old Testament scholia were likely preserved by later scribes in fragmented form.

In order to better understand the transmission of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia, it would be useful to survey the transmission of the West Syriac writer Jacob of Edessa's (ca. 630–708) scholia, which have been preserved in three places: 1) collections, 2) marginal notes, and 3) letters.[26] In his collections of scholia and in some of his letters (the latter being the ones written in response to questions from contemporaries, such as John the Stylite [d. 737/738]),[27] Jacob seeks to explain difficult aspects of the Peshitta.[28] In his marginal notes, written in his Bible revision, he explains both historical and exegetical aspects of the biblical text.[29] Jacob's collections of scholia are likely compilations, and

25 Namely, Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion.

26 See Alison Salvesen, "'Christ Has Subjected Us to the Harsh Yoke of the Arabs': The Syriac Exegesis of Jacob of Edessa in the New World Order," in Georges Tamer, Regina Grundmann, Assaad Elias Kattan, and Karl Pinggéra (eds.), *Exegetical Crossroads: Understanding Scripture in Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the Pre-Modern Orient* (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—Tension, Transmission, Transformation 8; Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 146.

27 Jan J. Van Ginkel, "Greetings to a Virtuous Man: The Correspondence of Jacob of Edessa," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2008), 70, 78–79.

28 Jacob also wrote scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus' *Homilies*. See Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, 2nd ed., rev., 50.

29 It is unclear if Jacob's marginal notes in his revision of Severus of Antioch's (d. 538) Cathedral Homilies and Hymns originate from him or from later writers associated with him. Cf. Lucas Van Rompay, "Jacob of Edessa and the Sixth-Century Syriac Translator of Severus of

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possibly reworked to some degree, by later scribes, as is evidenced by such introductory formulas as "from the fifth scholion" (ܡܢ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܚܡܫܝܐ), "from the twenty-fourth scholion" (ܡܢ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܟܕ), etc.; ms. British Library, Add. 12,144 (1081), which is a copy of ms. Vat. Syr. 103 (9th or 10th century), refers to fragments of Jacob's collections of scholia as coming from a *Book of Scholia* (ܡܢ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ).[30] His marginal notes appear in the extant manuscripts of his Bible revision and seem to have been included by Jacob himself, as he studied the biblical text.[31] His letters to John the Stylite, among others, were collected and haphazardly organized by two later scribes, who preserved them in a largely fragmentary form, i.e. they often lack Jacob's introductory and closing remarks.[32] Short excerpts of these letters are also preserved in earlier manuscripts as marginal scholia, where they are often given introductions, one of which begins: "From a letter by Jacob of Edessa to John the Stylite" (ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ ܡܫܡܢ ܒܒܠܝ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܣܛܘܠܝܛܐ).[33]

If one returns to Aḥob's scholia, what can reasonably be stated about their original form, both in consideration of the evidence presented above and in comparison with what is known about the original form of Jacob's scholia? While there is no indication anywhere that Aḥob wrote letters, responding to questions from his contemporaries, it is quite possible that he originally

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Antioch's Cathedral Homilies," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2008), 191.

30 William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, Acquired since the Year 1838*, Part II (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1871), 910. Baumstark suggests that there were two such similar works: Jacob's collections of scholia came from a *Book of Scholia*, and his marginal notes came from a *Shorter Book of Scholia*. See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 251, n. 1 and Dirk Kruisheer, "Reconstructing Jacob of Edessa's Scholia," in Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 188–189.

31 It is also possible that a later scribe, who was quite familiar with Jacob's work, added these marginal notes. See Alison Salvesen, "Jacob of Edessa's Version of 1–2 Samuel: Its Method and Text-Critical Value," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2008), 132 and n. 14.

32 Van Ginkel, "Greetings to a Virtuous Man," 70.

33 Ms. Vat. Syr. 103, f. 128r^{mg}. Similar introductions are also given to the fragments on f. 39r^{mg} and f. 110v^{mg}. See Kruisheer, "Reconstructing Jacob of Edessa's Scholia," 188 and n. 4, 8. For other related examples, see George Phillips (ed.), *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864), ܐ, *2–4*, ܗ, *5–6* (Syriac), 1, 10 (English).

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produced a large number of scholia.[34] Though it is also probable that Aḥob approached his scholia with some degree of order,[35] he himself never likely organized them into a formal work bearing a name. Perhaps after his death, those associated with him collected his scholia and rearranged them by biblical book, compiling a work which (in general form) was comparable to Jacob's post-mortem *Book of Scholia*. If this is accepted, it is likely that later scribes ceased to preserve Aḥob's collection of scholia as a single volume and, instead, began transcribing it in at least two separate parts:

– Aḥob's scholia on the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Prophets
– Aḥob's scholia on the *Beth Mawthbe*

Though it is unclear when this division would have occurred, it seems reasonable that it transpired sometime after 850, because Isho'dad clearly had access to a large number of Aḥob's scholia (in their presumed original form) from several Old Testament books.[36] There are two pieces of evidence supporting the premise that Aḥob's scholia were later assembled into at least two collections of scholia: 1) 'Abdisho''s Aḥob entry in his *Catalogue of Books* and 2) Baumstark's Aḥob entry in his *Geschichte*. In his *Catalogue of Books*, 'Abdisho' states that "Aḥob Qaṭraya composed a commentary of the whole New (Testament) and of the Pentateuch and all the Prophets, apart from a commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*" (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܥܒܕ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܘܣܒܪ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܢ ܐܦ ܚܕ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܕ

mentary, preserved in ms. Seert 27 (12th century).[39] He bases his proposal on Addai Scher's description of this manuscript, that its contents explained difficult aspects of the New Testament using Persian words.[40] Aside from the fourth broad type of extant Aḥob scholia listed above, i.e. "other notes," all of Aḥob's known Old Testament scholia[41] seek to define and/or explain difficult aspects of the Peshitta, two of which gloss a Peshitta noun with a Persian noun.[42] While the present study does not discuss Aḥob's New Testament scholia, one can reasonably conclude (based on Cowley's translation) that Aḥob's exegetical interests in defining and/or explaining the difficult parts of the Old Testament similarly carry over into his New Testament scholia as well.[43] It is also possible that Aḥob uses Persian glosses in his other (as-of-yet unstudied) New Testament scholia, but this remains to be seen.

5.2 The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

There is only one bit of information among the surviving biographical data relating to Aḥob's life and work that may help to explain why he composed his Old Testament exegetical works. According to the *Chronicle of Seert* and its later Arabic witnesses, Aḥob was known as "the Exegete of Seleucia" (المفسر بالمداين).[44] The epithet, "the Exegete of Seleucia," suggests that Aḥob was associated with the School of Seleucia.[45] However, while scattered details about this School have been preserved (such as the names of some of its famous heads and

39 Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 132, n. 1. This manuscript is reported destroyed during World War I (1914–1918). See Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 136.

40 Baumstark believed one of the distinguishing aspects of Aḥob's exegesis was his preference for using Persian to clarify the meaning of the Peshitta text. See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 132, n. 1. For a discussion of Aḥob's use of Persian in his Old Testament scholia, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

41 Cowley referred to Aḥob's New Testament exegetical works on John and the Pauline epistles in the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition as "scholia." See Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 329, 333, 339.

42 Namely, Aḥob's ܡܚܒܪܢܐ and Psalm 58:5–6 scholia.

43 See Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 333–338.

44 For the surrounding text and translation of this excerpt from the *Chronicle of Seert* and its later Arabic witnesses, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.1. Early References.

45 The School of Seleucia is known from several sources, including the *Chronicle of Seert*, the *Kitāb al-Maǧdal*, and the *Synodicon orientale*. See Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," 407–408 and Becker, *Fear of God*, 157–159.

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students), very little is known about its educational system, namely, its offices and formal curriculum.[46]

At this point, one must ask if any evidence, concerning the School of Seleucia's educational system, can be derived from another, contemporary East Syriac School? Some clues can arguably be found in the sixth-century educational system of the School of Nisibis, for which a number of records survive.[47] Its main offices consisted of the following:

- a steward (ܪܫܝܫܐ), who directed and oversaw the School's daily functions[48]
- an elementary instructor (ܡܠܦܢܐ), who taught both the pronunciation of the alphabet and the vocalization of texts
- a reader (ܩܪܝܢܐ), who taught reading, grammar, and the liturgy
- an exegete (ܦܫܩܢܐ), who taught biblical exegesis, the liturgy, and headed the School.[49]

The office of "exegete" (مفسر = ܦܫܩܢܐ) also entailed other responsibilities, one of which was leading the choir.[50] Such a position would necessitate a prior status as a member of the clergy.[51] Furthermore, this office was likely only filled by an ascetic, for the canons of the School of Nisibis limited the holder of this office from "contact with the outside world, as well as with heretics and other troubling sorts."[52]

Turning to the curriculum,[53] the Peshitta, earlier quintessential works (such as the translated exegetical works of Theodore of Mopsuestia [350–428] and

46 Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," 407–408 and Becker, *Fear of God*, 157–159.

47 The School of Seleucia held close ties with the School of Nisibis, and the latter likely functioned as a model for the former. See Becker, *Fear of God*, 155, 158 and idem, "Nisibis, School of," 311. Cf. Gerrit Jan Reinink, "The School of Seleucia and the Heritage of Nisibis, the 'Mother of Sciences,'" in Carla Noce and Massimo Pampaloni, and Claudia Tavolieri (eds.), *Le vie del sapere in ambito siro-mesopotamico dal III al IX secolo. Atti del convegno internazionale tenuto a Roma nei giorni 12–13 maggio 2011* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 293; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2013), 115. For a general introduction to the East Syriac school tradition, see Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

48 The "steward" was also known by other similar titles: "head …, principal, a head lecturer, director, or administrator." See Becker, *Fear of God*, 42.

49 Becker, *Fear of God*, 71, 87, 92–93, 180. Cf. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 100. It is unclear where the specific levels of instruction between "elementary instructor," "reader," and "exegete" began and ended. See Becker, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 9.

50 Becker, *Fear of God*, 88 and idem, *Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, 9.

51 Narsai, Abraham of Beth Rabban (ca. 510–ca. 569), and Ishai (fl. mid-6th century) were each a priest and the Exegete of the School of Nisibis in their respective times. See Reinink, "The School of Seleucia," 120, 123, 126–128.

52 Becker, *Fear of God*, 180.

53 Becker (in ibid., 87) clarifies the meaning of "curriculum" in this context: "[T]he only

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selected *memre*, possibly those produced by Ephrem [d. 373] and Narsai [399–502]),[54] the liturgy, and the writings produced by the School's officeholders were taught.[55] Medicine may have also been taught, though (if so) it was intentionally separated from the more prominent biblical and liturgical focus of the School.[56] The writings of the School's officeholders included four main types of literature: "biblical commentaries, liturgical works, cause literature, and polemical and apologetic treatises."[57] Biblical commentaries are the most widely attested type of literature to have been produced by the School's officeholders,[58] which itself may reveal one of the educational interests of the School's curriculum.[59] These biblical commentaries were composed in several forms, including whole commentaries (Syriac originals and translations from earlier Greek biblical commentaries), selective commentaries (either on select biblical books or on difficult Peshitta texts), and question-and-answer collections.[60] Once the School's students became literate, via lectures in reading the psalms, they would move to more advanced lectures in reading, grammar, and the liturgy.[61] At some point, they would then move to lectures in biblical interpretation and advanced liturgical studies.[62] As part of their studies, students were required to copy texts, primarily biblical manuscripts and biblical commentaries, though these also included the broader spectrum of liturgical, cause, and polemical and apologetic texts.[63] Texts were reproduced from both physical

formal curriculum of study that can be identified with some certainty is the movement of students between the different ranks of instructors. This was probably more of an informal process … rather than a system of accreditation such as we find in modern learning, where the student's movement forward by degrees is based less on individual virtuosity and more on the academic calendar and completion of a part of the curriculum by the class as a whole."

54 Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 88–89.

55 Becker, *Fear of God*, 89, 92–94, 205.

56 Reinink, "Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth," 77, n. 3 and ibid., 80, 84, 86, 95.

57 Becker, *Fear of God*, 89.

58 Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 114–120, 122, 124, 127, 129 and Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 124–126, 139–140, 163–165, 172, 213–215, 238–240, 278, 281, 290, 296, 299.

59 Becker, *Fear of God*, 89.

60 See, for instance, Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 125–126, 213–215 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Question-and-Answer Collections in Syriac Literature," 155–156. Cf. Lucas Van Rompay, "Antiochene Biblical Interpretation: Greek and Syriac," in Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 105–107.

61 Becker, *Fear of God*, 88, 92–93.

62 Ibid., 88, 93.

63 Ibid., 88, 90–93.

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exemplars and from class lectures, the latter of which consisted of the instructor delivering his content orally and the students copying it down.[64]

If the educational system of the School of Nisibis were cautiously applied to the School of Seleucia and if Aḥob's office as "the Exegete of Seleucia" was considered in this context, what can reasonably be stated about the original purpose of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works? Given his position as "exegete" and the likelihood that his collection of Old Testament exegetical works was larger in its originality, there are a few explanations, though, admittedly, none of them are provable claims:

– They were originally Aḥob's lecture notes, which, in part, may be evidenced by their terseness and general lack of poetic and/or linguistic digressions.[65]
– They were originally a classroom instructional manual that Aḥob produced, possibly in one of two ways: 1) marginal notes in one or more Peshitta manuscripts—somewhat akin to Jacob of Edessa's marginal notes[66] or 2) a list of and commentary on difficult Peshitta words and phrases—perhaps arranged in alphabetical order, as is evidenced by Aḥob's interest in Peshitta words and phrases beginning with the letter ܐ,[67] and, more particularly, words relating to ܝܠܐ,[68] which was used alongside one or more Peshitta manuscripts.[69] In either of these contexts, Aḥob would have likely produced his *Cause of the Psalms* as a separate work, in order to introduce his students to the benefits of the Psalms compared to other biblical books.

While it remains unclear if Aḥob intended his Old Testament exegetical works to be copied by his students or if he categorized them alongside other writ-

64 Ibid., 88, 93, 103.

65 Isho'dad wrote his biblical commentaries in a similar manner, and they also appear to have originally functioned as classroom lecture notes. See Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139–147*, 1.

66 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

67 These include 5 of his 35 extant scholia: Psalm 29:9, Psalm 45 Prologue, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5–6, and Bar Sira 14:12, 18.

68 These include 3 of his scholia: Genesis 50:10, Psalm 31:6, and Psalm 39:2. It is also worth noting that the East Syriac writer 'Enanisho''s (7th century) "Book of Rules (for Homographs)" (ܟܬܒ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܐ) is arranged alphabetically. However, while this tract contains a section on difficult words and readings beginning with ܐ, it does not discuss ܝܠܐ. See Hoffmann, *Opuscula nestoriana syriace tradidit*, 2, *4*–10, *18* and Jonathan Loopstra, *The Patristic "Masora": A Study of Patristic Collections in Syriac Handbooks from the Near East* (CSCO 689, Syr. 265; Louvain: Peeters, 2020), 42.

69 Chaim Brovender, "חשאתי טיפולוגי נתוח הסוריים השמהא יד כתבי The Syriac SHEMAHE Manuscripts: A Typological and Comparative Study" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976), xiii; Claudio Balzaretti, "Ancient Treatises of Syriac Homonyms," *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997): 74; Loopstra, *The Patristic "Masora,"* 42–43.

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ings that were studied in the School of Seleucia, it is worth noting that his other role—namely, teaching the liturgy (particularly the daily offices), of which the Psalms were central—may have also influenced his emphasis on the Psalms.[70]

5.3 The Peshitta Old Testament of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

In his extant Old Testament exegetical works, Aḥob references the Peshitta Old Testament (hereafter shortened to the OTP) in three ways:

1) direct citations, which are exact quotations of one or more words and/or phrases
2) loose citations, which include at least one exact quotation but are not comprised entirely of exact quotations from a single verse
3) allusions, which do not include any exact quotations.

The following 35 OTP words and phrases encompass Aḥob's direct citations; repeated quotations are only counted once. These are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1,[71] with the exception that one unknown citation of "Tarshish" will be placed after the Psalms citations:

Gen 15:9	1	ܥܓܠܐ	*calf*
	2	ܬܠܬܐ	*three years old* (2×)
	3	ܬܝܬܐ	*ram*
	4	ܥܙܐ	*goat*
Gen 15:10	5	ܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܘܝܐ	*he divided them equally*
	6	ܦܠܓ ܠܐ ... ܨܦܪܐ	*he did not divide the birds*
Gen 50:10	7	ܓܘܪܢ ܐܛܪ	*the threshing floors of Aṭar* (2×)[72]
Gen 50:26	8	ܕܦܢܐ	*dufnā*
Exod 35:3	9	ܠܐ ܬܩܕܚܘܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܫܟܢܟܘܢ	*you shall not kindle a fire in all of your dwelling place*
Num 20:8	10	ܢܬܠ ܡܝܗ	*it will give its waters*

70 It is also possible that the abundance of Aḥob's extant Psalm-related writings (in comparison with all of his other Old Testament scholia) is the product of later scribal selection.

71 All discussions of OTP manuscripts in this section are drawn from the Leiden Peshitta Institute editions.

72 Aḥob's second usage consists only of "Aṭar" (ܐܛܪ).

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Ps 5:4	11	ܨܦܪ	*morning* (2×)
Ps 29:9	12	ܥܠܛ	*'ylt'*
Ps 31:6	13	ܛܢܨ	*I have caused it to be guarded* (2×)
Ps 39:4	14	ܐܡܪ ܠܫܢܝ	*I thought with my tongue*
Ps 39:5	15	ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܝ ܣܘܦܝ	*and the Lord showed me my end* (2×)[73]
	16	ܕܐܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܝ ܐܬܝܬ	*that I might know why I remain*
Ps 39:6	17	ܗܐ ܒܫܘܥܬܐ ܣܝܡ	*Behold! With a measure you have*
		ܝܘܡܝ	*given my days* (2×)
Ps 42:2	18	ܐܬܪ	*the stage*
	19	ܕܡܝܐ	*of water*
Ps 45:9	20	ܩܨܝܥܐ	*cassia*
	21	ܠܒܠܚܐ	*stacte*
	22	ܕܟܝ	*finest*
Ps 58:4	23	ܡܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ	*the wicked* (*ones*) *were separated*
		ܡܒܛܢ	*from the belly* (2×)[74]
Ps 58:5	24	ܐܦܥܐ	*asp*
Ps 68:14	25	ܒܝܢ ܣܟܐ	*among the thorns* (2×)
Ps 104:2	26	ܟܣܝܬ	*a curtain*
Ps 104:3	27	ܕܒ̈ܡ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܟܢ ܒܝܬ̈ܗ̇	*on the waters he constructed his habitations*
Ps 105:19	28	ܥܕ ܕܡܪܐ ܡܗܡܢܗ	*the word of the Lord examined him* (2×)[75]
Ps 110:1	29	ܡܪܝ	*the Lord* (4×)
	30	ܠܝ	*my Lord* (3×)
Ps 110:3	31	ܝܠܕ	*child*
(Unknown)	32	ܬܪܫܝܫ	*Tarshish*
Isa 40:22	33	ܕܦܪܫ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܟܐ	*that he stretched out heaven like a vault*
Bar Sira 14:12	34	ܐܠ ܡܬܕܟܪ ܕܥܕܐ ܗܫܐ	*remember that until now you have*
		ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܦܣܩ ܕܡ̈ܘ̈ܬܐ	*not seen death, and the decree of*
		ܕܫܐܘܠ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܟ	*Sheol has not been shown to you*
Bar Sira 14:18	35	ܐܝܟ ܥܠܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܢܦܠ	*like the leaves of trees, for these fall,*
		ܘܐܠܝܢ ܢܨܡܚ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝ ܒܣܪ ܘܕܡ	*and these spring up, so are the generations of flesh and blood*
		ܗ̈ܠܝܢ ܢܬܚ ܘܐܚܪ	

73 Aḥob's second usage of this phrase does not include the initial "and" (ܘ).

74 Aḥob's second usage consists only of "they were separated" (ܐܬܦܪܫܘ).

75 Aḥob's second usage consists only of "his word" (ܡܗܡܢܗ).

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The following 23 OTP phrases encompass Aḥob's loose citations. These are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1:

Gen 3:6	1	ܡܬܩ ,ܡܛܥ ܠܡܚܡܕ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܘܕܚܫ ܠܣܟܠ	sweet to the taste *and* desirable to the sight
Gen 15:10	2	ܡܦܠܓ ... ܡܣܝ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܚܒܪܗ	he places (*each*) *member opposite its fellow*
	3	ܠܡܩܒܠ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܗܘܘ ܕܡܝ	they were placed *opposite* each other
Exod 6:16, 18	4	ܠܘܝ ,ܒܢܝ ... ܕܩܗܬ ܥܡܪܡ ܘܝܣܗܪ	the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*
Exod 12:6, 8	5	ܒܝܢ ܥܪܒܬܐ.ܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܘܢܟܘܠ ܠܗ ܒܢܘܪ ܐܦ ܠܗ	*the fourteenth* between evenings kill the Passover lamp and roast (it) *on a fire* and eat (it)
Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; 16:8	6	ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܥܒܕ	*you shall not do any work on it*
Num 12:3	7	ܕܘܝܕ ܥܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܥܠ ܦܢܝ ܐܪܥܐ	David was humbler *than all* the prophets
Num 20:8[76]	8	ܡܝ ܕܡܪܝܒܬܐ ܕܟܐ	*waters* of *the stone*
1 Sam 8:1	9	ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܒܥ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ [ܠ]ܡܗܘ ܕܕܝܢܝܢ ܠܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܥܕܢ ܕܣܒ ܝܬܝܪ	these whom Samuel appointed (as) *judges over Israel*, when he reached old age
1 Sam 8:6	10	ܒܥܐ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܫܐܠ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟ [ܚ]ܕ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ : ܘܨܠܝ ܠܡܪܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܗܘܐ	when *Samuel* heard that they had asked to have *a king* for themselves—he was grieved, *and* therefore he *prayed before the Lord*
2 Sam 18:9	11	ܒܗ ;ܬܠܝ ܐܒܫܠܘܡ.ܬܠܝ ܒܐܠܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܠܩܛ	that in which *Absalom was hung*
Ps 45:2	12	ܠܒܝ ܐܬܪܥܫ ܛܒ	*My heart overflowed*, etc.
Ps 58:5–6	13	ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩܩ ܠܗ ܠܚܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܣܟܠ ܡܚܫܝܢ ܚܫܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܝܕ ܚܪܫ	the *asp* will not be controlled by charms, which (are produced) by a *charmer*
Ps 78:16	14	ܐܦܩ ܡܝ ܡܢ ܟܐܐ ܘܐܦ	*he made* waters *come out from the rock*
Ps 105:17–18	15	ܫܕܪ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܓܘܦ ܘܒܟܒܠܐ ܐܬܬܟܠ ܢܦܫܗ	he might be *sold*, *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles*

76 This particular text may also derive from the Num 20 heading in 7a1, which is similarly found in 5b1 and 6b1. See Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.3. Numbers Scholia.

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2 Kgs 2:19–22	16	ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܠܝܫܥ. ܐܠܝܫܥ	*about Elisha*, who healed the bitter
		ܡܝ ܡܪܝܫܐ ܡܠܚܐ	*waters* with salt
2 Kgs 5:24	17	ܐܠܝܫܥ ܠܓܚܙܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ	Gehazi *took* (*the silver*) *and caused*
			(*it*) *to be guarded in the house*
Prov 5:19	18	... ܐܝܠܬܐ ܐܝܠܐ	hinds *and* ibexes
Dan 1:7	19	... ܪܒ ... ܕܢ	The chief *of the eunuchs gave*
		ܠܕܢܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܐܨܪ	*Daniel the name, Belteshazzar*
	20	ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ	The chief *of the eunuchs* of Neb-
		... ܐܡܪ ܠܗܢܢܝܐ ܣܪܝܣ	uchadnezzar called *Hananiah* by
		ܐܡܪ	this name
	21	ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ	*The chief of the eunuchs* of Neb-
		... ܐܡܪ ܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܣܪܝܣ	uchadnezzar called *Mishael* by
		ܐܡܪ	this name
	22	... ܐܡܪ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝ	*The chief of the eunuchs* gave
		ܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܫܡ ܠܗ	*Azariah* the name, *Abednego*
Bar Sira 1:14	23	ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܐܡܗ ܚܟܡܬ	*from* the belly of *their mother wis-*
		ܒܪܝܬܐ ܚܟܡܬ ܐܬܒܪܝ	*dom was created with* them

The following 9 OTP words and phrases encompass Aḥob's allusions. They are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1:

Gen 15:10	1	ܦܠܝܓܘܗܝ	their division
Gen 24:1–67	2	ܥܒܕ ܐܒܪܗܡ : ܕܐܙܠ	the servant of Abraham, when he
		ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܪܒܩܐ	went to betroth Rebecca
1 Sam 8:3, 5	3	ܕܪܟܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܫܡܘ	the evil way of life of the sons of
		ܕܫܡܘܐܝܠ	Samuel
1 Sam 8:4–5	4	ܡܢ ܪܒܘܬ ܚܛܝܬܗܘܢ ܕ[ܥ]ܡܐ	due to the greatness of their
		ܕܢܗܘܐ ܚܝܒ ܠܡܫܐܠ	iniquity, the people should be
		ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ	compelled to ask that they should
			have a king
Ps 48:4	5	ܐܪܡܘܢܬܐ	Palaces
Ps 104:3	6	ܡܫܟܢܬܐ	habitations
Ps 139:2	7	ܪܥܝܢܝ	My thoughts
Prov 1:7	8	ܕܚܠܬ ܡܪܝܐ	the fear of God (2×)
Bar Sira 1:14	9	ܡܢ ܕܚܠ ܕܚܠܬ ܡܪܝܐ	with the fear of God they began
		ܒܟܠ ܕܒܪ ܐܬܝܠ ܚܟܡܬ	before every (thing)

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In his extant Old Testament exegetical works, Aḥob collectively references the OTP 67 times, though if the repeated instances are included it is 82 times. His approach to the OTP is predominantly marked by direct citations, followed by loose citations; he only makes a scattering of allusions, three of which are used after the same text was previously introduced in a direct and/or loose manner.[77] Aḥob's loose citations and allusions suggest that he also had a great familiarity with the OTP and frequently cited it in his Old Testament exegetical works by way of *memoriter* quotation.[78] His usual way to reference the OTP is to cite a word or short phrase; however, he occasionally quotes longer passages, such as Bar Sira 14:12 or Bar Sira 14:18. With one exception, he always cites one or more sequential verses, suggesting that his conflation of similar phraseology from Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; 16:8 may reflect Shbadnaya's, rather than Aḥob's, use of the OTP.[79] Overall, the above tables reveal that Aḥob had access to 12 OTP books; he presumably had access to all the other OTP books as well, though this cannot be confirmed.

Aḥob's exact quotations (in his direct and loose citations) preserve the same wording found in 7a1.[80] However, Aḥob was not using 7a1, because he lived in the late 6th century.[81] Rather, he was using earlier OTP manuscripts. The extant pre-7a1 manuscripts that preserve each of the OTP books containing Aḥob's direct and loose citations (in their biblical order, as previously established) are as follows:[82]

77 These include Aḥob's allusions to Gen 15:10, Ps 104:3, and Bar Sira 1:14.

78 Aphrahat and Ephrem quoted the OTP in a similar manner. See Robert J. Owens, *The Genesis and Exodus Citations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 25–27 and M. D. Koster, "The Copernican Revolution in the Study of the Origins of the Peshitta," in Paul V. M. Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies. Vol. 2: Targum and Peshitta* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 165; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1998), 22.

79 For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.1. Calendrical Scholion.

80 Aḥob's usage of ܢܥܫܟ in his Psalm 45:9 scholion is a common orthographic variant of ܢܥܫܟ preserved in 7a1. See Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 539, 550. It is also worth noting that Aḥob's extant Psalm-related writings do not preserve any of the East Syriac ("Nestorian") variant readings listed in William Emery Barnes' edition of the Psalms. See idem (ed.), *The Peshitta Psalter according to the West Syrian Text, Edited with an Apparatus Criticus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), xxxiv–xl.

81 For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

82 This table does not include Jacobite, Nestorian, and Melkite rite lectionary manuscripts, because all known manuscripts containing them (for the biblical books listed) postdate the 6th century. Also, since Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen's edition of Bar Sira is based on 7a1 only, this Peshitta book is not listed.

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OTP books	5th-century mss	6th-century mss
Genesis	5b1	6k10, 6pj1
Exodus	5b1	6k10, 6pj1
Numbers	5b1	6b1, 6pk9
Deuteronomy	5b1	6b1, 6h6, 6k5
1–2 Samuel		6h1.4.19, 6k8
Psalms		6t1
2 Kings		6h18, 6ph2
Proverbs		6h16
Isaiah	5ph1	6h3.5, 6pk4
Daniel		6h10, 6h21

There are 18 manuscripts listed in the above table. It is possible that Aḥob was using texts that are similar to 5b1, 6b1, 6k10, and 6pj1,[83] in that these manuscripts preserve more than one biblical book. However, given the fact that Aḥob's exact quotations, as established by 7a1, are identically preserved (i.e. without variant spellings) in the above 5th and 6th-century manuscripts, he could have used similar texts to any of the above manuscripts as his underlying OTP manuscripts;[84] he could have also used OTP manuscripts that are no longer extant. In short, it is not possible (with the available evidence) to determine Aḥob's specific underlying OTP manuscripts.

Nevertheless, it is possible to establish the OTP manuscript stages Aḥob utilized. There are three broad stages by which the OTP has developed:[85]

83 It is highly unlikely that Aḥob was using 5b1, 6b1, 6k10, or 6pj1, because these manuscripts were preserved in West Syriac libraries.

84 It is highly unlikely that Aḥob was using any of the other manuscripts listed in the table above (i.e. beyond 5b1, 6b1, 6k10, or 6pj1), because these manuscripts were also preserved in West Syriac libraries.

85 The following is based on M. D. Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus: The Development of Its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries*, trans. C. A. Franken-Battershill (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 19; Assen / Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), 1–5; idem, "The Copernican Revolution," 15, 19–20, 44, 47–48, 52; Bas ter Haar Romeny, "The Syriac Versions of the Old Testament," in Maroun Atallah et al. (eds.), *Nos sources. Arts et littérature syriaques* (Sources syriaques 1; Antélias: Centre d'Études et de Recherches Orientales, 2005), 95–98; Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed., 45–47.

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– First Stage: preserved in several 5th–10th-century manuscripts, such as 5b1, 5ph1, 6h5, 7pj2, 8h5, 9a1, and 1011, and represents a close translation from the Hebrew.
– Second Stage: preserved exclusively in 6th–8th-century manuscripts and likely represents a process of smoothing out various earlier more literal translations with Syriac idiom.
– Third Stage: preserved in 9th-century (and on) manuscripts and represents a standardization of the OTP; this stage is generally referred to as the *Textus Receptus* or Standard Text.

Since Aḥob lived in the 6th century, any suggestion that he relied on the *Textus Receptus* can safely be discarded.[86] If his office as "the Exegete of Seleucia" is considered, it would suggest that he had access to several First and Second Stage OTP manuscripts, the latter of which were likely being produced from the former (under his supervision) in the School of Seleucia when he taught there.[87] In this way, it can reasonably be stated that a combination of First and Second Stage OTP manuscripts likely served as the underlying OTP manuscripts for Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. Nevertheless, it must also be stated that in all the Old Testament verses cited by Aḥob there are no readings which are diagnostic of whether First or Second Stage OTP manuscripts were, in fact, being used by him.

5.4 The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

Given how little is known about Aḥob, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of his linguistic skills. Presuming that he was comparable to his contemporaries, he likely did not read Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic, though he probably spoke the language of Qatar[88] and seems to have had (at minimum) a cursory knowledge of Persian.[89] In what follows, Aḥob's sources are categorized as Greek, Syriac, and other sources,[90] though the texts that he would have used would have almost certainly been written in and/or translated into Syriac.

86 It is worth noting that Aḥob does not reference any OTP word or phrase that includes a variant from the *Textus Receptus*.

87 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works. Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 88, 90, 92–93.

88 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.5. The Language of Qatar.

89 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

90 The examination of Aḥob's cosmology is listed under Syriac sources, even though it was also likely influenced, to some degree, by concepts that originated among earlier Greek

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5.4.1 *Greek Sources*

In his Old Testament exegetical works, Aḥob draws on several earlier Greek sources (which he accessed through Syriac translations), including Theodore of Mopsuestia's (350–428) *Commentary on Genesis* (*CPG* 3827) and *Commentary on Psalms* (*CPG* 3833), Basil of Caesarea's (ca. 330–379) Prologue to Psalm 1 (*CPG* 2836), and the anonymous *Physiologus* (late 2nd or 3rd century; *CPG* 3766). While Aḥob never mentions his Greek sources by name, his dependency upon them is shown by the large number of similar words and phrases he preserves. Aḥob's use of these Greek sources will be discussed in the following four subsections, which are organized in descending order of influence upon his Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.

5.4.1.1 Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Psalms*[91]

Among the sources Aḥob uses in his Old Testament exegetical works, the most notable is Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Psalms*. Aḥob relies on four passages from this work:

Aḥob	**Theodore**
Psalm 5:4	Psalm 5:4
Psalm 39:6	Psalm 38:6
Psalm 40:8	Psalm 39:8
Psalm 45 Prologue	Psalm 44 Prologue[92]

Since the Syriac translation of Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* is only extant for Ps 119(118); 139(138)–147,[93] the following four subsections will be based

sources. Similarly, while his Greek readings, medical references, and select miscellaneous references likely originated from earlier Greek sources, these have been listed under Other sources.

91 The critical edition used in this subsection is the following: Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*.

92 The discrepancy in psalm numbering is due to differences between the numbering of psalms in the LXX (upon which Theodore commented) and the OTP (upon which Aḥob commented).

93 Part of Theodore's introduction to Ps 148 is also extant, though none of his commentary on the verses of this psalm have been preserved. See Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (text), 83, *16–21* and idem, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), 100.

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on the Greek or (if necessary) the Latin[94] text of Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms*, of which only Ps 1–81(80) are extant.[95]

5.4.1.1.1 *Psalm 5:4*[96]

For his Psalm 5:4 scholion, Aḥob relies on two fragments from Theodore's commentary on Ps 5:4, the latter of which is only preserved in Latin. If these Theodorean fragments in Aḥob's scholion (which encompass the entirety of his Psalm 5:4 scholion) are compared with Theodore's commentary on Ps 5:4, they appear as follows:

	Aḥob (*1–5, 5–6*)[97]	**Theodore** (*55, 13–15, 19–20*)[98]
Fragment 1	For the (word meaning) *morning* is understood in three (ways) in the Scriptures. That is to say, either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this *morning*.	In the divine Scriptures we find *in the morning* used in three ways: it is used as an indication of speed, it refers to joy, and of course to morning time.
Fragment 2	But, (on) this (occasion), he speaks about swiftness.	In this verse, on the other hand, the word is to be taken as a time index.

Aside from the shared theme of seeking to understand the meaning of "morning," Aḥob also uses similar words and phrases to Theodore on five occasions within these two fragments. The order will follow Aḥob's Syriac text:

94 The Latin translation of Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* will only be used where the Greek text has not been preserved.

95 It is possible that (at least parts of) Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3, Psalm 105:17–19, Psalm 110 Prologue, and/or Psalm 110:3 scholia may have relied on Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms*. However, since these psalms in Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* have not been preserved, this cannot be confirmed.

96 Ter Haar Romeny notes that Aḥob relies on Theodore in his Psalm 5:4 scholion, but he does not show any specific examples. See idem, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 451–452 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 148.

97 The English translation and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

98 The English translation, page, and line numbers are taken from Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 55.

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Aḥob **(*1, 1, 2, 4, 5*)**[99]	**Theodore** **(*54, 15, 16, 15, 17* and *17* and *22–23, 16*)**[100]
"*morning*" (ܨܦܪܐ)	"*In the morning*" (*Mane*)
"in three (ways)" (ܒܬܠܬ)	"in three ways" (*tripliciter*)
"in the Scriptures" (ܒܟܬܒ)	"In the divine Scriptures" (*in scripturis diuinis*)
"this *morning*" (ܗܫ ܨܦܪܐ)	"morning time" (*tempus … matutinum*) "time index" (*tempore accipiendum*)
"swiftness" (ܒܗܠܠܡ)	"indication of speed" (*uelocitatis indicium*)

Aḥob relies on Theodore's commentary on Ps 5:4, likely because it offers a concise explanation of "morning" (ܨܦܪܐ). However, Aḥob does not simply reproduce Theodore's commentary on this verse in its totality; he reworks two fragments of it, while still maintaining their overall structure. Whereas Theodore presents three possible meanings for "In the morning" (*Mane*) and then selects the most obvious option as its meaning, i.e. "time index" (*tempore accipiendum*)—which he earlier referred to as "morning time" (*tempus … matutinum*), Aḥob introduces two possible meanings for "morning" in order to discard them for a third option: "swiftness" (ܒܗܠܠܡ).[101] It is unclear why Aḥob does not select the more obvious meaning for "morning," i.e. "this morning" (ܗܫ ܨܦܪܐ), as Theodore had done with the parallel meaning of "time index." Two of the three Theodorean meanings for "In the morning," i.e. "morning time" and "indication of speed" (*uelocitatis indicium*), are loosely preserved by Aḥob as "this morning" and "swiftness," respectively. He does not indicate why he alters the Theodorean meaning of "joy" (*laetitiam*)[102] to "splen-

99 The text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

100 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 54, *15–23*, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table.

101 Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 451–452 and idem, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 148.

102 Theodore explains why he suggests the meaning of "joy": "Now, joy is suggested by this

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dor" (ܪܥܝܢ ܨܦܪ), though he may be suggesting that one of the possible meanings of "morning" is the observable beauty of the early hours of the day.

5.4.1.1.2 *Psalm 39:6*[103]

For v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, Aḥob borrows three fragments from Theodore's commentary on Ps 38:6. If these Theodorean fragments in Aḥob's scholion are compared with Theodore's commentary on Ps 38:6, they appear as follows:

	Aḥob (*18–23, 27–45, 47–60*)[104]	**Theodore** (**469, *15–17* and 471, *3–8, 9–13* and *13–19* and 473, *1–8*, 475, *5–11***)[105]
Fragment 1	"You gave me limited life." And not free and simple like the angels. For also thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being. Nor should we live without a limit.	After all, even if he did not set the same limits to each person's life, he did set limits to people in general … and not imperishable, as it were, like the nature of angels or any other of the spiritual beings. God, of course, manages affairs by a certain plan, making our nature subject to a sentence of death once and for all and rendering us capable of lasting for an acknowledged number of years, with the result that we do not undergo a speedy dissolution as soon as we are fashioned, nor do we have an immeasurable life span extended indefinitely.

term for the reason that whereas the troubles of night succeed the period of the day, when we experience a flood of worries and anxieties, and our bodies relax and oblivion takes the place of anxiety, so in the morning we rise settled and joyful as if all the previous worry was over with the night" (*Indicatur autem laetitia hoc nomine ob hoc, quia, cum diei tempus, in quo curarum fluctus et solicitudines experimur, noctis uicisitudo exciperit, relaxatis otio corporibus et obliuione in locum angoris admisa, ita mane securi laetique consurgimus quasi omnis praeterita sollicitudo fuerit cum nocte finita*). See Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 54, *17–22* (Latin), 55 (English).

103 Van den Eynde hints at the notion that Aḥob relies on Theodore in v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, but he does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 69, n. 4.

104 The English translation and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

105 The English translation, pages, and line numbers are taken from Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 469, 471, 473, 475.

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	**Theodore**
Fragment 2	For just as a house, if it is built well, then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also it remains. In this way also the bodies of people, according to their structure and the equality of their mixture, endure. In proportion to their feebleness (do) they perish. For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he fixed how much he should live, he would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life). And, again, if he was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies.	just as people building houses determine the extent of their duration by the zeal and care in building, longer if they are more zealous, shorter if they adopt this attitude in building. He limited the number of years he wanted our life to last … by allowing all persons to run the course of their own lives as their makeup permits, and the ailments natural to our mortal condition and the sickness and decease arising from circumstance to run their course in us, the result being that some have shorter lives than others. After all, it would have been most inappropriate for him to determine the length of each one's life: had he personally set a longer time for one and less for another, it would have been unfair for him not to allot people length of life equally; and if he had maintained equality, it would have been necessary for human nature to remain proof against illness in the meantime for the period of their life span, not falling victim to bodily complaints. As well, the onset of death befitting our nature would have been abolished: being impassible, we necessarily would have to be also immortal, and the possibility of suffering bodily for Christ's sake would be abolished in the case both of martyrdom and of self-control, and along with it the reward for virtuous effort.
Fragment 3	he does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change,	Now, the fact that people lived different ages in different periods—such as nine hundred before the flood, a hundred and seventy in the case of Abraham, and after him a hundred and ten a little more—does not undermine our argument: in every case it is clear that those in the same period did not have equal life spans, which would not have been the

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	**Theodore**
	since the measure (of life) of the first (humans) is not equal (in comparison) with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones). Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan.	case if God had allotted each one a life span, since in the same period he definitely would have maintained equal life spans.

In order to more accurately discuss these lengthy fragments, it is worth presenting the above table on a smaller scale, where Aḥob and Theodore's similar phrases are isolated and listed in their mutual order of appearance according to their respective Syriac and Greek texts:

	Aḥob (*16–17, 17–18, 18–21, 21–22, 26–30, 30–34, 34–37, 37–42, 44–53*)[106]	**Theodore** (468, *26–28*, 470, *9–11, 11–14, 14–15, 16–20, 21–22* and *24–29* and *33–34, 35–37* and 472, *1–3, 5–16*, 474, *10–19* and *21–24*)[107]
Fragment 1	"'You gave me limited life'" (ܫܒܩ ܠܝ ܚܝܐ ܟܡܝܫܐ)	"After all, even if he did not set the same limits to each person's life, he did set limits to people in general" (Εἰ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμέτρησε τὴν ζωήν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε κοινῶς ἐμέτρησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)

106 The text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

107 The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 468, col. 1, *26–30*, 470, col. 1, *1–37*, 472, col. 1, *1–16*, 474, col. 1, *10–24*, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table.

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	Theodore
	"And not free and simple like the angels" (ܘܠܐ ܚܐܪܬ ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܗܘ)	"and not imperishable, as it were, like the nature of angels or any other of the spiritual beings" (καὶ οὐχ οἷον εἰπεῖν ἀδιαλύτου ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς τῶν νοητῶν)
	"For also thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being" (ܐܝܟ ܗܢ ܐܦ ܗܟܝܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܬܪ ܕܠܐ ܢܡܘܬ ܥܡ ܦܓܪܢ ܕܝܠܢ.)	"God, of course, manages affairs by a certain plan, making our nature subject to a sentence of death once and for all and rendering us capable of lasting for an acknowledged number of years, with the result that we do not undergo a speedy dissolution as soon as we are fashioned" (Ὁ γάρ τοι θεὸς λόγῳ τινὶ κρατίστης οἰκονομίας, θανάτου μὲν ἅπαξ ἀποφάσει τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ὑποβαλών, κατεσκεύασεν εἰς φανερὸν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν διαρκεῖν δυναμένους, ὡς μήτε ταχείαν ἅμα τῇ πλάσει τὴν διάλυσιν ὑπομένειν)
	"Nor should we live without a limit" (ܘܠܐ ܢܚܝܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܕ)	"nor do we have an immeasurable life span extended indefinitely" (μήτε ἁπλῶς ἡμῖν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτείνεσθαι τὴν ζωήν)
Fragment 2	"For just as a house, if it is built well, then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also it remains" (ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܬܟܢܬ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܫܦܝܪ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܫܠܡܘܬ ܗܝܟܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ.)	"just as people building houses determine the extent of their duration by the zeal and care in building, longer if they are more zealous, shorter if they adopt this attitude in building" (ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευάζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν σπουδῆς τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας τὴν ποσότητα τῆς τοῦ χρόνου διαμονῆς ταῖς οἰκίαις χαρίζονται, πλείονα μὲν εἰ μᾶλλον σπουδάσαιεν, ἐλάττονα δὲ εἰ τούτῳ χρήσαιντο ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῷ τρόπῳ)
	"In this way also the bodies of people, according to their structure and the equality of their mixture, endure. In proportion to their feebleness (do) they	"He limited the number of years he wanted our life to last … by allowing all persons to run the course of their own lives as their makeup permits, and the ailments natural to our mortal condition and the sickness and decease arising from circumstance to

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(*cont.*)

Aḥob	Theodore
perish" (ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܥܫܝܢ ܚܕ̈ܐ. ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܢܚܝ ܥܠ ܚܕ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܚܕ̈ܐ)	run their course in us, the result being that some have shorter lives than others" (Τὸν δέ γε τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν, εἰς ὃν διαρκεῖν ἡμῶν ἠβουλήθη τὴν ζωήν, περιγράψας ... ἕκαστον ὡς ἄν ἔχοι κράσεως ἀποπληροῦν τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς ἀριθμὸν συγχωρήσας καὶ τὰ πάθη κρατεῖν ἐν ἡμῖν ἅτε δὴ ὡς ἐν φύσει θνητῇ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμπτωμάτων ἀρρωστίας τε καὶ θανάτους, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπ ἔλαττόν τινας ἑτέρων ζῆν συμβαίνει)
"For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he fixed how much he should live, he would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life)" (ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܬ ܡܕܬ ܚܝܘܗܝ. ܘܠ ܐܚܕ ܐܬ ܡܕܬ ܚܝܘܗ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ)	"After all, it would have been most inappropriate for him to determine the length of each one's life: had he personally set a longer time for one and less for another, it would have been unfair for him not to allot people length of life equally" (Αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁρίζειν τῷ καθενὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἄγαν ἀπρεπέστατον ἦν. Εἴτε γὰρ τῷ μὲν ὥριζε πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἔλαττον, ἀδικιας ἦν οὐ κατ' ἰσότητα νέμοντος τὴν ζωὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)
"And, again, if he was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies" (ܘܬܘ ܐܠܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ)	"and if he had maintained equality, it would have been necessary for human nature to remain proof against illness in the meantime for the period of their life span, not falling victim to bodily complaints. As well, the onset of death befitting our nature would have been abolished: being impassible, we necessarily would have to be also immortal, and the possibility of suffering bodily for Christ's sake would be abolished in the case both of martyrdom and of self-control" (Εἴτε καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα ἐφύλαττεν, ἔδει τὴν φύσιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ μένειν ἀπαθῆ ὡς ἄν διαρκῇ μέχρι τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ὅρου, μὴ διακοπτομένη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι παθῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἀνῃρεῖτο ὁ τοῦ θανάτου ὅρος συμφερόντως κείμενος ἐν τῇ φύσει. Ἀπαθῆ γὰρ οὖσαν, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ ἀθάνατον εἶναι, ἀνῃρεῖτο

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	Theodore
		δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθεῖν τῷ σώματι εἴτε ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις, εἴτε καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐγκρατείας λόγῳ)
Fragment 3	"he does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change, since the measure (of life) of the first (humans) is not equal (in comparison) with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones). Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan" (ܠ ܟ ܕܚܠܫ ܕܡܢ ܕܒܫܪܟܬ ; ܐܠ ܐܠܐ .ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܕܚܠܦ .ܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܚܠܦ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܒܫܪܟܬ ܐܠ ܐܦ ܕ ܐܠ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܚܠܦ .ܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܕ ܐܠ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܚܠܦ ·. ܐ ܟ ܕܚܠܫ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܚܠܦ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܒܫܪܟܬ)	"Now, the fact that people lived different ages in different periods—such as nine hundred before the flood, a hundred and seventy in the case of Abraham, and after him a hundred and ten a little more—does not undermine our argument: in every case it is clear that those in the same period did not have equal life spans, which would not have been the case if God had allotted each one a life span, since in the same period he definitely would have maintained equal life spans" (Τὸ δέ γε διαφόρως ζῆν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ τὰς γενεὰς ϡ′, γενεῶν εἰ τύχοι τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων, ρ′ δὲ ο′ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ρ′ καὶ ι′ καὶ εἰ βραχύ τι πλέον, οὐδὲν τῷ νοήματι λυμαίνεται. Πανταχόθεν γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν γενεὰν ἴσον ἔζων τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἦν εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ἑκάστῳ τὴν ζωὴν ἐμέτρει · πάντως γὰρ ἂν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν γενεὰν ἐφύλαξε τὴν ἰσότητα)

The above table encompasses nearly all of v. 6 of Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion and the majority of Theodore's exegesis on the same verse. It also reveals that Aḥob abbreviates Theodore's exegesis (in its order, excerpt by excerpt), at least concerning the first two fragments. For the third fragment, Aḥob reworks (without summarizing) Theodore's exegesis. Aḥob shows dependency on Theodore's

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third fragment in that, while his scholion appears to share few parallel words or phrases with Theodore's exegesis, it is arguably constructed by a similar exegetical approach. For instance, in order to categorize distinguishable periods of humanity, Aḥob borrows the Theodorean phrase "according to generations" (ܠܥܕܢ̈ܐ and κατὰ τὰς γενεὰς, respectively)[108] and then develops its meaning by broadening Theodore's three specific generational lifespans. Thus, whereas Theodore presents the noticeably different lifespans as 1) "nine hundred before the flood" (ϡ′, γενεῶν εἰ τύχοι τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων), 2) "a hundred and seventy in the case of Abraham" (ρ′ δὲ ο′ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ), and 3) "after him a hundred and ten a little more" (τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ρ′ καὶ ι′ καὶ εἰ βραχύ τι πλέον),[109] Aḥob classifies these "generations" according to three groups: 1) the "first (humans)" (ܩܕܡ̈ܝܐ), 2) "intermediate (ones)" (ܡܨ̈ܥܝܐ), and 3) "later (ones)" (ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ). Aḥob likely abbreviates and reworks these three Theodorean fragments, because he assumes his audience (i.e. his students) will know the source material.

By citing the majority of Theodore's exegesis on Ps 38:6, Aḥob is clearly wanting to capture the essence of his commentary on this verse, namely, that God does not prearrange the length of individual people's lives. The varying lengths of human life are not due to some injustice on God's part, as if he loved certain people (and certain generations) more than others. Rather, this variability reflects the general constitution of people (i.e. their ability to overcome the weaknesses of the body and/or their proclivity to succumb to bodily sicknesses).

It is also worth noting that while he does not cite any of Theodore's concluding commentary on Ps 38:6—namely, that people generally desire to know why they exist and that God has not determined the length of their lives—Aḥob is likely aware of it but chooses to conclude his Psalm 39:4–6 scholion somewhat differently: the ultimate answer to the theological dilemma of one's length of life (by itself or in comparison to the length of another person's life) lies in "the providence of God" (ܥܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ), which "is not given to us to know all things exactly" (ܠܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܠܡܕܥ ܟܠ ܫܪܝܪܬܐ).

108 Hill presents a less literal translation of this phrase: "in different periods." See Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 475.

109 Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 474, col. 1, *12–14*, *14*, *15–16* (Greek), 475 (English).

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5.4.1.1.3 *Psalm 40:8*[110]

For his Psalm 40:8 scholion, Aḥob borrows one fragment from Theodore's commentary on Ps 39:8. If this Theodorean fragment in Aḥob's scholion (which encompasses the entirety of his Psalm 40:8 scholion) is compared with Theodore's commentary on Ps 39:8, it appears as follows:

Aḥob[111]	**Theodore (496, *8–9* and *9*)**[112]
"The sections of all the prophets" (ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ)	"the books of the prophets" (ταῖς βίβλοις … τῶν προφητῶν)

In order to understand the Ps 40:8 phrase "in the beginning of the books" (ܒܫܪܝܬ ܟܬܒܐ), Aḥob relies on Theodore's commentary on the same phrase, which in the LXX states "in the scroll of the book" (ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου). Aḥob uses Theodore's exegesis at this point, because he likely views the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" as referring to the Old Testament prophetic books—as Theodore had understood the equivalent LXX phrase to mean—rather than the Law, which is the more obvious sense of this phrase. Due to the brevity of his scholion, Aḥob alters very little of Theodore's equivalent phrase: he changes the noun "books" (βίβλοις)—which would have likely been ܟܬܒܐ in its translated form—to the noun "sections" (ܦܣܩܐ) and adds the adverb "all" (ܟܠ). While it is unclear what Aḥob means by "sections," his use of "all" likely implies that he understood the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" as referring to parts of each of the prophetic books.

5.4.1.1.4 *Psalm 45 Prologue*

For his Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, Aḥob borrows one fragment from Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue. If this Theodorean fragment in Aḥob's scholion is compared with Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue, it appears as follows:

110 Van den Eynde hints at the notion that Aḥob relies on Theodore in his Psalm 40:8 scholion, but he does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72, n. 4.

111 The text and English translation are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

112 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 496, *7–9*, and the English translation is taken from ibid., 497.

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Aḥob (*1–4*)[113]	**Theodore** (554, *17* and *17–18* and *20–21*)[114]
"But the Jews in their madness take this psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife" (ܕܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝ ܒܫܓܝܢܗܘܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܡܨܪܝܬܐ ܗܘ)	"since Jews presume to distort the psalm, turning it into fairy tales, or rather an object of derision, of which no heed should be taken … taking this psalm as referring to Solomon and his wife" (ἐπειδὴ … παρατρέπειν Ἰουδαῖοι τολμῶσι τὸν ψαλμόν. Μυθικώτερον, μᾶλλον δὲ καταγελαστότερον αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενοι—οἷς οὐδὲ προσέχειν ἐχρῆν … τὸν Σολομῶντα καὶ τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα βούλονται εἰρῆσθαι τὸν ψαλμόν)

Aḥob relies on Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue, likely because he agrees with Theodore that Ps 45(44) does not speak about Solomon and one of his wives. He quotes two phrases from Theodore: "this psalm" (ܗܢܐ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ) and "Solomon and … his … wife" (ܫܠܡܘܢ … ܘ ܐܢܬܬܗ), the comparative Greek being τούτου … τὸν ψαλμόν and τὸν Σολομῶντα καὶ τὴν … γυναῖκα, respectively. However, Aḥob does not merely reproduce the equivalent portion of Theodore's Prologue; rather, he largely summarizes it, encapsulating the latter's polemical verbosity against Jews with the brief phrase, "But the Jews in their madness" (ܕܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝ ܒܫܓܝܢܗܘܢ). Beyond this, the most notable change Aḥob makes is his addition of the adjective "Egyptian" (ܕܡܨܪܝܬܐ), which is likely a reference to Solomon's wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, mentioned in 1 Kgs 3:1; 7:8; 9:16, 24; 11:1; 2 Chr 8:11.

113 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

114 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 554, and the English translation is taken from ibid., 555.

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5.4.1.2 Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1[115]

For his *Cause of the Psalms*, Aḥob relies on eleven fragments from Basil of Caesarea's (ca. 330–379) Prologue to Psalm 1, which precedes his *Homily 10*. The Syriac translations of Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms* have been little studied, and (to date) no edition has been produced. However, these translations can be broadly categorized into two stages: 1) fifth-century translations, which were quite free and prone to expansion by the inclusion of additional material[116] and 2) seventh to ninth-century translations, which were retranslations and represented a close reading of the Greek.[117] Considering Aḥob's established date,[118] it can be known that he would have used one or more fifth-century translation(s), since the seventh-ninth century translations had not yet been produced. If Aḥob's Basil fragments are compared with Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, they appear as follows:

115 Van den Eynde notes that Aḥob may be relying on Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, but he does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1.

116 Paul Jonathan Fedwick, "The Translations of the Works of Basil before 1400," in Paul Jonathan Fedwick (ed.), *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 449; idem, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea, 11: The Homiliae morales, Hexaemeron, De litteris, with additional coverage of the letters, Part One: Manuscripts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 240–241; Sebastian P. Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in Nina G. Garsoïan, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period. Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 18; idem, "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv 9*: Some remarks on the Syriac manuscript tradition," in J. Dummer (ed.), *Texte und Textkritik—eine Aufsatzsammlung* (TU 133; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1987), 57, 62–66; Sebastian Brock, "Traduzioni siriache degli scritti di Basilio," in *Basilio tra Oriente e Occidente. Convegno Internazionale "Basilio il Grande e il Monachesimo Orientale." Cappadocia, 5–7 ottobre 1999* (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2001), 167.

117 Fedwick, "The Translations of the Works of Basil before 1400," 449 and n. 61; idem, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis, Part One: Manuscripts*, 240–241; Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation," 18; idem, "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv 9*," 63–66; Brock, "Traduzioni siriache degli scritti di Basilio," 167. Another example of a seventh to ninth-century literal Syriac translation of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1 (which is not included in Fedwick and Brock's lists of manuscripts containing this text) is preserved in Antonio Maria Ceriani (ed.), *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus curante et adnotante* (Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae 7; Mediolani: Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1874), IV, col. 1, *18*-col. 2, *48*, which is part of the larger, independent prologue to the Greek psalter at the beginning of the Syro-Hexapla.

118 For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

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	Aḥob (*13–16* and *17–20*, *44–63*, *73–80*, *105–110*, *145–154*, *164–169*, *174* and *175–176*, *178–179*, *188–189*, *195–196*, *200*)[119]	**Basil** (141r, col. 1, *6–11* and *13–17*, 141r, col. 1, *21*-col. 2, *10*, 141r, col. 2, *10–24*, 142r, col. 2, *23–29*, 141v, col. 1, *22–31* and col. 2, *6–19*, 141v, col. 2, *26*–142r, col. 1, *1*, 142v, col. 1, *25–27*, 143r, col. 1, *33*-col. 2, *2*, 141r, col. 1, *11–21* and col. 2, *24–31* and 141v, col. 2, *4*, 143r, col. 2, *13–18*, 141v, col. 1, *2–3*)[120]
Fragment 1	"all the Holy Scriptures, which were uttered and written by the grace of the Spirit, are beneficial to rational (people) … according to the word of the blessed Paul: *Every book, which is written by the Spirit* of God, *is* profitable *for learning*, etc." (ܟܠ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܬܡܪܘ ܘܟܬܝܒܘ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܠܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ... ܠܠܐ ܣܦܩ ܐܡܪ ܒܪ̈ܝܫ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ... ܟܠ ܟܬܒ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܗܘ ܢܦܠ ܠܣܒܪ̈ܐ ... ܐܦ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܫܪ̈ܝ ܬܘܕ̈ܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܥܒܪ̈ܝ̈ܢ ... ܘܬܘܒ ܐܦ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܒܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܠ̈ܐ ... ܘܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܘܟ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ... ܘܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝ̈ܐ ... ܘܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ... ܘܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ... ܘܒܟܬܒ

(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	**Basil**
	books of the histories there is also found prophecy of things, which (are) to come, with exhortation and petition and thanksgiving; these are found scattered in all the Scriptures. But in this book of Psalms all these (are) collectively set, and it is composed, as it were, of some members and parts from all these" (ܟܬܒ ܚܕ ܕܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܠܡ ܟܬܒ ∴ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܗܕܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܒܥܘܬܐ ∴ ܘܒܗ ܐܝܬ ∴ ܐܝܟ ∴ ܕܒܗ ∴ ܐܝܟ ∴ ܕܒܗ ∴ ܐܝܟ ∴ ∴ ∴

(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	**Basil**
	ܕܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܟܬܒܝܢ ܒܫܒܚܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܘܚܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܡܫܕܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܘܠܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܢܫܬܡܫ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢ ܢܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܒܫܡܥܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘ

(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	Basil
		ܟܠ ܕܒܙܡܐ ܠ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܕܡ ܕ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܟܠܝܢ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܕ ܒܥܐ ܠ ܗ ܕ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠ ܗ ܒܙܟܪܢ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܠ ܗ ܕ ܢܗܘܐ ܠ ܗ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܠ ܗ ܕ ܢܫܬܡܥ ܒ ܒܬܐ ܘ ܒ ܫ ܘ ܩܐ ܘ ܠ ܗ ܕ ܢܬܟܢܫ ܒ ܫ ܘ ܩܐ)
Fragment 6	"But (concerning) the words of other books, because they were spoken in meters and because of the words which are combined within them, everyone received them with pleasure in his memory, so that they are also easily recited everywhere" (ܕ ܐ ܡ ܪ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܪ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܚ ܪ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܝ ܬ ܝ ܗ ܘ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܬ ܐ ܡ ܪ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܗ ܘ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܬ ܚ ܒ ܪ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܗ)	"But the words of the psalms, because of the melody which is joined to them, every one fixes them with pleasure in his memory, so that it is easy for them to be sung even in homes, and to be recited in the market places, and to be uttered with chaste melodies in the streets" (ܕ ܐ ܡ ܪ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܪ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܝ ܬ ܝ ܗ ܘ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܬ ܐ ܡ ܪ ܝ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܗ)
Fragment 7	"These (compositions) … (do) not even satiate the perfect (ones)" (ܐ ܠ ܝ ܢ ...)	"the sure support of the perfect (ones) is established through them" ( )
Fragment 8	"And know that in David there are all good (things)" ( )	"so that one might say that all good (things) are stored up in them" ( )
Fragment 9	"a medicine for all pains, a bandage for all wounds" ( )	"all people should find cures for the sicknesses of their sins from the holy Scriptures, as though from a universal hospital. For truly, the healing that is due to (the Scriptures) gives us relief from the pains of sins … For through it also

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	Basil
		are cured those in whom the ulcers of sins have grown old, and by it are healed those in whom the wounds of failings are new … mix their medicine" (ܗܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܫ̈ܐ ܕܚܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܒܗ ܡܬܚ̈ܠܝܢ ܘܒܗ ܐܬ̈ܪ̈ܦ̈ܝ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܬܪ̈ܦ̈ܝ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܚ̈ܒ̈ܘ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܕ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܒܗ ܡ̈ܬܚ̈ܠ̈ܝ ... ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܚ̈ܒ̈ܘ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܕ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܒܗ ܡ̈ܬܚ̈ܠ̈ܝ ... ܡܙܓ ܬܪ̈ܦ̈ܘܬ̈ܟ)
Fragment 10	"he prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity" (ܐܦ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ)	"in them are predictions concerning Christ, that he will appear in the flesh, and (that) he is God over all" (ܐܝܟ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ,ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܒܒܣܪܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ,ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ.)
Fragment 11	"we should be cleansed from the impurity of passions" (ܕܢܬ ܐܬܕܟܝ ܡܢ ܛܘܡܐ ܕܚܫ̈ܘ̈ܩ̈ܐ)	"(this book) is a purifier of wicked passions" (ܡܕܟܝ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܫ̈ܝ̈ܢ)

There are approximately sixteen themes in these fragments which Aḥob borrows from Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1. These include the following:

1) The Holy Scriptures are beneficial for all people
2) The Holy Scriptures consist of prophecy, history, Law, and wisdom writings
3) All the beneficial aspects of the Holy Scriptures are gathered in the Psalms
4) The Psalms prophesy about future and past events
5) The Psalms and living a godly way of life
6) The Psalms drive away demons
7) The Psalms and angels
8) The melodies of the Psalms
9) The words of the Psalms are pleasing
10) Words are placed in the memory with pleasure

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11) Memorized words can be recited everywhere
12) The perfect ones
13) The Psalms contain all good things
14) Healing from pain
15) The Psalms prophesy about the divinity and humanity of Christ
16) The Psalms purify ungodly passions

Along with these shared themes, Aḥob also uses similar[121] (and sometimes the same) wording as Basil on twenty-six occasions:

	Aḥob	**Basil**
Fragment 1	"the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)	"the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)
	"were … written" (ܐܬܟܬܒܘ)	"it was written" (ܟܬܝܒ)
	"are beneficial" (ܡܠܝ ܫܦܝܪ) "*is* profitable" (ܐܝܬ ܫܦܝܪ) [2 Tim 3:16]	"*is* beneficial" (ܐܝܬ ܫܦܝܪ) [2 Tim 3:16]
	"*Every book … by the Spirit* of God" (ܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ … ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ) [2 Tim 3:16]	"*Every Scripture … through the* Holy *Spirit*" (ܟܬܒܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܟܠ) [2 Tim 3:16] "of the Spirit of God" (ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)
Fragment 2	"prophecy" (ܢܒܝܐܘܬ) (2×) "the books of the prophets" (ܟܬܒ ܢܒܝܐ)	"the prophets" (ܢܒܝ)
	"law writing" (ܟܬܒ ܢܡܘܣ)	"the (books of) the Law" (ܢܡܘܣ)
	"wisdom" (ܚܟܡܬܐ)	"the wisdom of Solomon" (ܚܟܡܬ ܫܠܡܘܢ)
	"the fear of God" (ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ)	"the fear of God" (ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ)

121 This includes synonyms.

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	**Basil**
	"in all the Scriptures. But in this book of Psalms" (ܒܟܠ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܟܬܒ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܙ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܐܡܪ)	"But in the book of the holy Psalms ... from all the Scriptures" (ܒܟܬܒ ܩܕܝܫ̈ܐ ... ܡܢ ܟܠ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝܫ̈ܐ)
Fragment 3	"prophecy of (those things) which (are) to come" (ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܕܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܝܢ)	"it prophesies about future (events)" (ܢܒ̈ܝ ... ܕܐܬ̈ܝ)
	"histories" (ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܐ)	"the events" (ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܐ)
Fragment 4	"demons" (ܫ̈ܝ̈ܕ̈ܐ)	"demons" (ܫ̈ܝ̈ܕ̈ܐ)
	"angels" (ܡ̈ܠ̈ܐ̈ܟ̈ܐ)	"angels" (ܡ̈ܠ̈ܐ̈ܟ̈ܐ)
Fragment 5	"the sounds of ... melodies" (... ܕ ܩܠ ܢ̈ܓ̈ܡ̈ܐ)	"melodies of" (ܕ ܩܠ) "melodies" (ܩܠ)
	"music" (ܙ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ)	"song" (ܙ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ)
	"the hearers" (ܫ̈ܡ̈ܥ̈ܐ)	"hearing" (ܫ̈ܡ̈ܥ̈ܐ)
Fragment 6	"But (concerning) the words of" (ܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܐ ܕ) "the words which" (ܕ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ)	"But the words of" (ܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܐ ܕ)
	"they were spoken" (ܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ)	"to be uttered" (ܠܡ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ)
	"which are combined within them, everyone received them with pleasure in his memory, so that they are also easily recited" (ܕܐܬ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ܘ ܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ܟ̈ܠ ܚ̈ܕ ܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ... ܕ ܟ̈ܕ ܢ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ܠ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ ... ܕ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ ܢ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ... ܕ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ ܢ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈)	"which is joined to them, every one fixes them with pleasure in his memory, so that it is easy ... even in ... to be recited" (ܕܐܬ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ܘ ܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ܟ̈ܠ ܚ̈ܕ ܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ܠ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ... ܕ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ ... ܕ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ ܕ ܟ̈ܕ ܢ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ ܢ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈)
Fragment 7	"the perfect (ones)" (ܫ̈ܠ̈ܡ̈ܐ)	"the perfect (ones)" (ܫ̈ܠ̈ܡ̈ܐ)

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	**Basil**
Fragment 8	"in … all good (things)" (ܒ … ܟܠ ܫܦܝܪ)	"all good (things) … in" (ܟܠ ܫܦܝܪ ܒ)
Fragment 9	"a medicine" (ܐܣܝܐ)	"their medicine" (ܐܣܝܬܗܘܢ) "the healing" (ܐܫܝܬܐ) "are cured" (ܐܬܐܣܝ) "are healed" (ܐܬܫܠܡ)
	"pains" (ܐܟܣܝ)	"pains" (ܐܟܣܝ)
	"wounds" (ܚܒܪ)	"the wounds" (ܐܫܬܐ)
Fragment 10	"he prophesied about" (ܢܒܝ ܥܠ)	"are predictions concerning" (… ܥܠ ܡܬܢܒܐ ܟܠ)
Fragment 11	"of passions" (ܕܚܫܐ)	"of … passions" (ܕܫܬܐ)

Aḥob's eleven Basil fragments are scattered throughout his *Cause of the Psalms*. With the exception of fragments 5–6, 9, and 11, they follow the same order as Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1. Aḥob's preferred approach is to rework (without summarizing) Basil's text, which can be observed to varying degrees in nearly every fragment above, aside from fragment 9. In fragment 9, Aḥob noticeably summarizes Basil's equivalent text, though (as with all of his Basil fragments) he still utilizes several similar and/or identical words from Basil. Aḥob also develops Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1. For instance, in his fragment 2, Aḥob briefly introduces what he will discuss: "For we find that it divides the word which (is) in the Holy Scriptures into four kinds" (ܡܨܐ ܕܡܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝܫ̈ܐ ܒܐܪܒܥ ܫܘܓ̈ܢ̈ܐ); Basil, on the other hand, offers no comparable opening explanation of the different genres of biblical books that he explores. Another development can be seen in fragment 4: whereas Basil mentions "demons" (ܫܝܛܢ̈ܐ) and "angels" (ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ), Aḥob presents each with a descriptor, namely "rebellious demons" (ܫܝܛܢ̈ܐ ܡܪܕ̈ܢ̈ܐ) and "holy angels" (ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܩܕܝܫ̈ܐ). Aḥob likely reworks and summarizes the eleven Basilean fragments above, because he assumes his audience

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(i.e. his students) are familiar with the broader text of Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1.

It is also worth noting that Aḥob does not draw on the last section of this Basilean text, which, in ms. British Library, Add. 14,543, is preserved on ff. 143v, col. 1, *8*–144r, col. 1, *8*. The simplest explanation for this is that many of the themes presented in this section are discussed by Basil earlier in his Prologue. Aḥob may have viewed this section as Basil's concluding remarks on the text, which would explain his lack of interest in interacting with any specific part of its contents.

5.4.1.3 Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis*[122]

For his Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, Aḥob likely relies on the parallel text in Theodore's *Commentary on Genesis*.[123] However, since the original text of Theodore's commentary on these two verses is no longer extant, its oldest (and most literal) witness will be used,[124] namely, an excerpt from Theodore's polemical response to Julian the Apostate's *Contra Galilaeos* (362–363), which Augusto Guida partially reconstructed from fragments preserved in the late fifth-century exegetical *Catenae on Genesis*.[125] From this, it can be established that

122 The critical edition used in this subsection is the following: Augusto Guida (ed.), *Teodoro di Mopsuestia, Replica a Giuliano Imperatore: Adversus criminationes in Christianos Iuliani imperatoris* (Biblioteca Patristica 24; Firenze: Nardini, 1994).

123 Paolo Carrara was the first to suggest that this commentary on Gen 15:9–10 originated from Theodore. See Carrara, "Tre estratti da un trattato contro Giuliano (di Teodoro di Mopsuestia?)," *Prometheus* 9 (1983): 282.

124 Later (usually anonymous) scribes included this and other Theodorean excerpts, along with fragments from other slightly later Greek writers—such as Theodoret of Cyrus (393–457), in the *Collectio Coisliniana* (9th–10th century). Cf. Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 36–37 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 142. The Genesis section of this florilegium was edited by Françoise Petit. See idem, *Catenae Graecae in Genesim et in Exodum: Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986).

125 Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 34, 36, 122–124 and idem, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia, Replica a Giuliano Imperatore*, seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata (Bologne: Centro editoriale dehoniano, 2019), 90–99. See also Carrara, "Tre estratti da un trattato contro Giuliano," 279–284. Other slightly later Greek writers, such as Procopius of Gaza (465–528), also used Theodore's commentary on Gen 15:9–10, though it appears to have been reworked to some degree. See, for instance, Karin Metzler (ed.), *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris testamenti epitome. Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar* (GCS N. F. 22; Berlin/München/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 257–258 and idem, *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris testamenti epitome* (GCS N. F. 23; Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 234–235.

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Aḥob borrows 2 fragments from Theodore's commentary on Gen 15:9–10.[126] In the following two tables (where each verse is presented separately), both of Aḥob's Theodorean fragments are compared with Theodore's response to Julian:

	V. 9 of Aḥob (*1–16*)[127]	**Theodore (126, *1–12*)**[128]
Fragment 1	But by the *calf*, he indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke. But, again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat. But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation. Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) *three years old* and *three years old*, he makes known the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*.	The generations were therefore signified by the animals that had been prepared and, by their age of three years, the still youthful character of the people and (their) being in (their) prime. And the *heifer*, taken first, fittingly signified the first generation; for as the heifer is untamed, having no experience of the yoke, so also the first generation of the people who went down to Egypt was kept free from the Egyptian discipline. The *goat* was taken second, after the heifer, because it indicates beforehand the second generation. For just as the goat provides a small revenue to the owners, but nevertheless it provides, so also the second generation, although not much, but nevertheless was enslaved to the Egyptians. The *ram*, brought forward third, openly indicated beforehand the third (generation), for because a ram offers the owner a greater return from it(self), in like manner the Egyptians enjoyed most of all the fruits of the third generation of the Israelites.

126 Theodore's commentary on Gen 15:9–10 is part of a larger excerpt, labeled "Fragment 2" by Guida. See idem, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 41.

127 The English translation and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.1. Genesis Scholia.

128 The page and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 126, and my English translation is based on ibid.

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	V. 10 of Aḥob **(*23–39*)**	**Theodore** **(126, *15–20*)**
Fragment 2	He places (*each*) *member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he makes known their vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow. But (that phrase) *he did not divide the birds* indicates their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt.	On account of this, in any case, he divided the *heifer* and the *goat* and the *ram* into two parts and set them *opposite* to each other, through the division hinting at their affliction and crushing (sorrow) in their sojourning, and through the placing opposite *one another* indicating their taking part in slavery together with one another. He kept the *turtle dove* and the *dove* undivided, however, intending the people who went down to Egypt being freed from Egypt's hard labor.

In order to more accurately discuss both of these lengthy fragments, it is worth presenting the above tables on a smaller scale, where Aḥob and Theodore's similar phrases are isolated and listed (along with their respective Syriac and Greek texts), following the order of Aḥob's text:

	Aḥob **(*1–7, 7–11, 11–12, 13–15, 23–34, 34–39*)**[129]	**Theodore** **(125, *2–5, 9–12, 5–9, 1–2, 15–19, 19–20*)**[130]
Fragment 1	"But by the *calf*, he indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt, which	"And the *heifer*, taken first, fittingly signified the first generation; for as the heifer

129 The text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.1. Genesis Scholia, and the English translation is taken from the preceding two tables. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

130 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 125, *1–27*, and the English translation is taken from the preceding two tables.

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(*cont.*)

Aḥob	Theodore
thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke" (ܗܕܐ ܐܦ ܟܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ ܥܡ ܡܫܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܥܘܠܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܩܛܪ ܒܢܝܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܫܒ ܒܡܨܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܫܒ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܥܓܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܥܙܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܕܝܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܬܟܒܫ ܒܡܨܪܝܐ)	is untamed, having no experience of the yoke, so also the first generation of the people who went down to Egypt was kept free from the Egyptian discipline" (καὶ ἡ μὲν δάμαλις πρώτη ληφθεῖσα τὴν πρώτην εἰκότως ἐσήμαινε γενεάν· ὡς γὰρ ἡ δάμαλις ἀδάμαστός ἐστιν, ἄπειρος οὖσα ζυγοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατελθόντος λαοῦ πρώτη φορὰ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς σκληραγωγίας ἐλευθέρα διεφυλάχθη)
"But, again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat" (ܘܒܬܘܒ ܒܟܪܐ ܡܚܘܐ ܠܕܪܐ ܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܝ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܥܓܠܐ ܘܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܝ ܛܒܐ ܡܢ ܓܕܝܐ ܘܚܫܝܒܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܬܟܒܫ ܒܡܨܪܝܐ)	"The *ram*, brought forward third, openly indicated beforehand the third (generation), for because a ram offers the owner a greater return from it(self), in like manner the Egyptians enjoyed most of all the fruits of the third generation of the Israelites" (τρίτος δὲ ὁ κριὸς προσαχθεὶς τὴν τρίτην ἄντικρυς προεμήνυεν· ὅ τε γὰρ κριὸς πλείονα δίδωσιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸν πόρον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀπεκαρπώσαντο μάλιστα τὴν τρίτην γενεὰν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι)
"But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation" (ܘܒܬܘܒ ܒܥܬܘܕܐ ܗܘ ܡܪܡܙ ܠܥܒܘܕܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܒܫ ܒܡܨܪܝܐ)	"The *goat* was taken second, after the heifer, because it indicates beforehand the second generation. For just as the goat provides a small revenue to the owners, but nevertheless it provides, so also the second generation, although not much, but nevertheless was enslaved to the Egyptians" (ἡ δὲ αἴξ δευτέρα παρελήφθη μετὰ τὴν δάμαλιν, διὰ τὸ τὴν δευτέραν γενεὰν προαινίττεσθαι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ αἴξ βραχεῖαν μὲν τοῖς δεσπόταις παρέχει τὴν πρόσοδον, παρέχει δὲ ὅμως, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ λαοῦ δευ-

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(*cont.*)

	Aḥob	Theodore
		τέρα φορὰ δουλείαν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πολλήν, ἀλλ' ὅμως παρείχετο)
	"Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) *three years old* and *three years old*, he makes known the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*" (ܫܠܝܫܝܐ ܫܠܝܫ ܒܬ ܠܒܝ ܫܒܝ ܕܡܫܡܥ ܠܢ ܕܬܠܬ ܕܪܗܛ ܠܘܝ ܘܩܗܬ ܘܥܡܪܡ ·)	"The generations were therefore signified by the animals that had been prepared and, by their age of three years, the still youthful character of the people and (their) being in (their) prime" ('Εδηλοῦντο δὲ ἄρα διὰ μὲν τῶν εὐτρεπισθέντων ζῴων αἱ γενεαί, διὰ δὲ τοῦ τριετοῦς αὐτῶν τὸ νεάζον ἔτι τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐν ἀκμῇ καθεστός)
Fragment 2	"He places (*each*) *member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he makes known their vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow" (ܠܡܚܕ ܫܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܪܡ ܡ ܫܠܚ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܐ ܒܬܪ ·ܡܒܬ ܡܒܬ ܫܪܝܐ ܠܡܚܕ ܡܒܬ ·ܡܒܬ ·ܕܡܫܡܥ ܠܢ ܕܪ ܕܪ ܡܚܕ ܠܡ ·ܡܕܒܪ ܡܕܒܪ ·ܡܕܒܪ ܠܡܚܕ ܡܢ ·ܡ ܠܡ ·ܡܡ ܒܡܚ ܫܪܝ ·ܡܡ ܡܢ ܫܪܝ ·ܠ ·ܡܡ ܫܪܝ ·ܠ ·ܡܡ ·ܡ ܠܫܪ ·ܪ)	"On account of this, in any case, he divided the *heifer* and the *goat* and the *ram* into two parts and set them *opposite* to each other, through the division hinting at their affliction and crushing (sorrow) in their sojourning, and through the placing opposite *one another* indicating their taking part in slavery together with one another" (τούτου γοῦν ἕνεκεν τήν τε δάμαλιν καὶ τὴν αἶγα καὶ τὸν κριὸν μέσα διεῖλε καὶ τέθεικεν ⟨ἑ⟩αυτοῖς ἀντιπρόσωπα, διὰ μὲν τῆς τομῆς τὴν ἐν τῇ παροικήσει θλῖψιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν συντριβὴν ὑπεμφαίνων, διὰ δὲ τῆς θέσεως τῆς ἀντιπροσώπου τὸ τῆς δουλείας ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὺς συμμετεσχηκέναι δηλῶν)
	"But (that phrase) *he did not divide the birds* indicates their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for	"He kept the *turtle dove* and the *dove* undivided, however, intending the people who went down to Egypt being freed from

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(*cont.*)

Aḥob	Theodore
they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt" (.ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܟܚ ܕܢܬܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܡ. ܐܡܬܗ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܗ ܒܟ̈ ܗܘ ܡܫܟܚ ܕܢܬܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܡ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܡ)	Egypt's hard labor" (τὴν μέντοι τρυγόνα καὶ τὴν περιστερὰν ἐφύλαξεν ἀδιαίρετον, ὡς τῶν ἐξελθόντων τὴν Αἴγυπτον τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀπαλλαγέντων ταλαιπωρίας)

Aḥob comments on Gen 15:9–10 in a similar manner to Theodore, likely because he agrees with Theodore's broad typological approach to these two verses. If it is accepted that the order of this excerpt from Theodore's response to Julian reflects its original order in his *Commentary on Genesis*, then the above table reveals that Aḥob rearranges select phrases of this Theodorean excerpt. However, this is (in large part) due to a variation in the order of the first three animals presented in v. 9: whereas the Peshitta introduces them as "calf" (ܥܓܠܐ), "ram" (ܕܟܪܐ), "goat" (ܥܙܐ), the LXX introduces them as "heifer" (δάμαλιν), "goat" (αἶγα), "ram" (κριὸν). Not surprisingly, Aḥob and Theodore faithfully follow the order of their respective biblical texts at this point. It is possible that the Syriac translation of Theodore's commentary on v. 9 was rearranged to follow the Peshitta, meaning that Aḥob only reordered one phrase of Theodore's exegesis on Gen 15:9–10 (namely, Theodore's comment on the animals being three years old); however, this cannot be verified.

Beyond his reordering of parts of this Theodorean excerpt, Aḥob reworks (without summarizing) the first half of the first Theodorean fragment and all of the second Theodorean fragment. For the "goat" phrase in the first fragment, he summarizes Theodore's exegesis. He approaches the final phrase of the first fragment by developing Theodore's equivalent text: while Theodore simply refers to "generations" (γενεαί), Aḥob states that there were "three generations" (ܬܠܬ ܕܪ̈ܗܛ), exemplified by "Levi, and Kohath, and Amram" (ܠܘܝ ܘܩܗܬ ܘܥܡܪܡ).

Though it is unclear if Aḥob originally commented specifically on the "turtle dove" (ܬܘܪܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪ̈ܬ ܝܘܢܐ),[131] as mentioned at the end of v. 9, it is likely that (if he did) he would have used a comparable typological approach to that of Theodore.

131 He does comment on the v. 10 phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܠܐ ... ܗܘ ܡܫܟܚ), which is a reference back to the turtle dove and the young dove.

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5.4.1.4 The *Physiologus*[132]

For his Psalm 42:2 scholion, Aḥob borrows one fragment from the *Physiologus*, which is a 2nd or 3rd-century Greek text (originating from Egypt) that discusses, among other things, the moral strengths and weaknesses of animals.[133] Prior to the 6th century, it was translated into Syriac, in which it is preserved in four forms: 1) an early form,[134] 2) an expanded form,[135] 3) a longer form,[136] and 4) a fragmented form.[137] Of these four forms, only the longer form preserves a text that is similar to Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion.[138] If Aḥob's *Physiologus* fragment is compared with the longer form of the Syriac *Physiologus*, it appears as follows:

Aḥob (*1* **and** *2* **and** *4–8*)[139]	**The *Physiologus*** (*16, 6–11*)[140]
"Because, then, stags … long for a drink *of water* when they have eaten	"But when (the stag) eats the snake, he begins to eat it by its tail and takes all (of)

132 The critical editions used in this subsection are the following: Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (ed.), *Physiologus syrus seu historia animalium XXXII in s. s. memoratorum, syriace e codice bibliothecae vaticanae nunc primum editit, vertit et illustravit* (Rostock: Libraria Stilleriana, 1795); J. P. N. Land (ed.), *Anecdota Syriaca IV: Otia Syriaca*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1875), 33–99 (Syriac), 31–98 (Latin); K. Ahrens (ed.), *Das "Buch der Naturgegenstände"* (Kiel: C.F. Haeseler, 1892); Arnold Van Lantschoot, "Fragments syriaques du Physiologus," *Le Muséon* 72:1–2 (1959): 37–51.

133 S. P. Brock, "Physiologus," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 334. For a detailed discussion of the *Physiologus* in the Syriac tradition, see Sami Aydin, "5 The Syriac Tradition of the *Physiologus*," in Caroline Macé and Jost Gippert (eds.), *The Multilingual Physiologus: Studies in the Oldest Greek Recension and its Translations* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 84; Turhout: Brepols, 2021), 197–236.

134 Tychsen, *Physiologus syrus seu historia animalium XXXII*.

135 Land, *Anecdota Syriaca IV*.

136 Ahrens, *Das "Buch der Naturgegenstände."*

137 Van Lantschoot, "Fragments syriaques du Physiologus." See Brock, "Physiologus," 334.

138 The expanded form preserves a chapter on the "stag" (ܐܝܠܐ), as mentioned in Ps 42:2. However, this chapter does not contain any material that compares to Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion. See Land, *Anecdota Syriaca IV*, 46, *16*–47, *9* (Syriac), 44–45 (Latin).

139 The text, English translation, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

140 The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Ahrens, *Das "Buch der Naturgegenstände,"* 16 (Syriac), and my English translation is based on ibid., 44 (German).

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(*cont.*)

Aḥob	**The *Physiologus***
of harmful reptiles. Like that which is the gall of snakes, which pollutes and adheres to the roof of their palate" (ܚܝܪܘܬܐ ... ܡܪܪ ... ܕܡ ܗܠܟ ܟܐܒ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܚܟ ,ܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܪ ܕܥܠ ,ܕܡ ܟܝ ܐܟܠ. ܐܝܟ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬ ,ܕܡ ܟܝ ܐܟ

While the *Physiologus* describes the manner by which the stag eats the snake, Aḥob does not mention the parts of the snake being eaten or their order of consumption by the stags. Furthermore, Aḥob suggests that, concerning the stags, the snake gall "adheres to the roof of their palate" (ܗܢܘܢ ܕܨܠܚ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܦܝܗܘܢ), whereas the *Physiologus* states that it is "the head of the snake (that) sticks to the roof of his palate" (ܪܫܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܨܠܚ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܦܘܡܗ). Aḥob's terse description of the *Physiologus* at this point suggests that he assumes his audience (i.e. his students) knows either the immediate chapter under discussion or the broader text of the *Physiologus* itself.

5.4.2 *Syriac Sources*

Along with his Greek sources, Aḥob relies on several contemporary Syriac sources, including the East Syriac liturgy, cosmology, and church architecture. He shows his dependency upon two of these Syriac sources through varying forms of analogy. Aḥob's use of these Syriac sources will be discussed in the following three subsections, which are organized by their order of appearance in his Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.[141]

5.4.2.1 The East Syriac Liturgy

In his Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, Aḥob makes one reference to the East Syriac liturgy, which is the only time he does so in his known Old Testament exegetical works. After introducing the v. 10 phrase "he divided them equally" (ܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܝܐ), he comments that "(There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar" (.ܬܠܬ ܣܕܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܐ ܕܡܬܣܕܪ ܥܠ ܦܬܝܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܚܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ).[142] Aḥob's liturgical analogy is a reflection of a common Eucharistic practice in his time,[143] and he likely includes it in this scholion to typologically explain Abraham's equal division of the animals. His reference to the Eucharistic bread being laid out in "three

141 The text, line numbers, and English translation of Aḥob words and phrases used in the following three subsections are taken from his Genesis 15:9–10 and Psalm 104:2–3 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.1. Genesis Scholia and Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

142 Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion, *20–23*.

143 In the liturgy, the arrangement of the Eucharistic bread upon the altar occurs during the Preparation of the Mysteries. See Johnson Chittilappilly, *Mdabbranuta: The Divine Dispensation of Our Lord in the Holy Qurbana of the East Syrian Tradition* (Vadavathoor: Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, 1999), 384–385.

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rows" (ܬܠܬ ܣܕܪܝܢ) offers a rare window into the early East Syriac liturgy, for no other early commentator on the East Syriac liturgy mentions this detail.[144] Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether Aḥob's reference to the Eucharistic bread being laid out in "three rows" implies three separate loaves or one loaf divided into three parts. Since Aḥob is the earliest witness to this Eucharistic practice, it is not known when it began.[145]

5.4.2.2 Cosmology

In his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, Aḥob discusses some of his cosmological views, which is the only time he does so in his known Old Testament exegetical works. His focus is on explaining the meaning of the Peshitta noun, "curtain," (ܡܫܟܢܐ) in v. 2 and phrase, "On the waters he constructed his habitations," (ܕܒܡܝܐ ܣܟܠ ܥܠܝܬܗ) in v. 3. Aḥob's cosmology shares several points of commonality with earlier Greek and Syriac writers. For instance:

- Theodore mentions "two heavens" (*duobus caelis*) in his commentary on Ps 19(18):2, "the upper (one)" (*superius*) being unseen and "the lower (one)" (*inferius*) being seen by humanity.[146]
- Narsai calls them "a double dwelling place" (ܡܫܟܢܐ ܟܦܠܐ), "two habitations" (ܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ̈ܐ), and "two worlds" (ܬܪܝܢ ܥܠܡ̈ܐ) in his *Homilies on Creation*, where "the exalted dwelling place" (ܡܫܟܢܐ ܥܠܝܐ) is created for spiritual beings and "the lower (dwelling place)" (ܬܚܬܝܐ) is for mortal beings.[147]
  - Aḥob refers to these as "that exalted heaven" (ܫܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܗܘ) and "this visible firmament" (ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܚܙܝܐ ܗܘ), respectively.[148]

144 See, for instance, Sebastian P. Brock, "An Early Syriac Commentary on the Liturgy," *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 37:2 (1986): 387–403 and idem, "Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary on the Liturgy," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 6:2 (2003): 197–248.

145 At present, during the East Syriac liturgy, a priest divides one loaf into two halves, which are then arranged to represent the cross in the paten. However, similar to Aḥob's reference to the Eucharistic bread being laid out in "three rows," it is not known when this practice began. See E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine: A Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East* (London: Murray, 1956), 163–165. At present, during the West Syriac liturgy, a priest breaks one loaf into multiple pieces. See ibid., 143–144.

146 Hill, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 234, *1, 2, 2* (Latin), 235 (English) and Frank Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana: Kosmologie und Geographie im frühen Christentum* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2014), 190.

147 Philippe Gignoux (ed.), *Homélies de Narsaï sur la création* (Patrologia Orientalis 34.3–4; Turnhout / Paris: Brepols, 1968), 532/114, *91, 92, 92, 95, 93* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 213.

148 Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, *14, 9–10*.

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– Narsai insists that the firmament functions simultaneously as a "roof" (ܣܟܟܐ) for the earth below it and as a "floor" (ܪܘܦܐ) for the "exalted dwelling place" above it.[149]
– Jacob of Serugh (ca. 451–521)[150] adheres to a similar view: "It [i.e. the firmament] overshadows the house [i.e. the earth], and it does not have openings for heaven which (is) above; and on account of its roof, night rests upon its inhabitants" (ܣܟܟܐ ܕܡܐ: ܒܝܬܐ ܪܚܝܩ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܦܬܚ̈ܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܘܡܢ ܛܘܠ ܣܟܟܗ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܢܚ ܥܠ ܕܝܪ̈ܐ ,ܕܥܠ).[151]
  – Aḥob uses similar concepts in his discussion of the Ps 104:3 phrase, "On the waters he constructed his habitations," where he states, "the structures which (are) above the earth (are) the habitations of the firmament, since the whole of its own roof is the floor of the house which (is) under it" (ܐܠܐ ܣܟܟܐ ܒܝܬ ; ܕܡ ܪܘܦܐ ,ܕܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܕܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܘܦܐ ,ܕܥܠ ,ܕܡ).[152]
– Jacob of Serugh seeks to explain why the waters above the firmament cannot run down off of it, since it is in the form of a tent: "He made the firmament a tent for a dwelling place on the second day … And there they [i.e. the waters] were established upon the great habitation, which (is) above, like a great cavern that great mountains surrounded" (ܒܝܬ ܪܘܡ ܕܡ ܐܬܬܣܝ ܪܘܦܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡ ܒܝܘܡ ܬܪܝܢ … ܘܬܡ ܐܬܬܣܝ ܪܘܦܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡ ܒܝܬ ܪܘܡ ܐܬܬܣܝ ܪܘܦܐ ܕܥܠ: ,ܕܥܠ).[153]
  – Aḥob rejects the notion that the Ps 104:2 noun, "curtain," (ܡܬܚܐ) would be in the form of a "tent … so that the waters, which are above, should not slip away or fall down from its highest ridge" (ܐܠܐ ܡܬܚܐ … ܣܟܟܐ ܕܡ ܢܬܚ̈ܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡ ܣܝ).[154]

Also, Isa 40:22[155] was a foundational verse on which Antiochene cosmological concepts, such as those of Severian of Gabala (ca. 408), were devel-

149 Gignoux, *Homélies de Narsaï sur la création*, 528/110, *55*, *56* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 214. Theodore also alludes to this concept. See ibid., 190.

150 For a brief introduction to Jacob of Serugh, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Ya'qub of Serugh," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 433–435.

151 Paul Bedjan (ed.), *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 3 (Paris / Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1907), 35, *13–14* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 218.

152 Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, *19–22*.

153 Bedjan, *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis* (vol. 3), 29, *4* and 30, *4–5* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 218.

154 Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, *2*, *12* and *28–29*.

155 According to the Peshitta, Isa 40:22 states, "And who sits above the circle of the earth and its inhabitants like locust(s), who stretched out heaven like a vault and stretched them

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oped.[156] Aḥob quotes part of this verse (in v. 2 of his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion) to explain the physical shape of "that exalted heaven."[157]

Considering the points of commonality above, it is unlikely that Aḥob is relying on any particular earlier writer in his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion. Rather, he appears to be engaging with a received (Greek and Syriac) Antiochene cosmology, which insisted on a literal interpretation of cosmological biblical passages. As such, Aḥob conveys a variation of existing cosmological theories (i.e. those mentioned above) and also expands the boundaries of certain concepts, such as his insistence that the Ps 104:2 noun, "curtain," refers to "the swiftness of its construction" (ܣܘܪܥܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ), rather than the more obvious "form of its setting up" (ܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܗ).[158] Other examples of his development of Antiochene cosmology include his descriptions of "that exalted heaven" as a "canopy" (ܩܒܐ)[159] and the "firmament" (ܪܩܝܥܐ) as having "a round shape" (ܫܟܠ ܓܠܝܠ) and being "circular in the middle" (ܓܠܝܠ ܒܡܨܥܬܗ).[160]

There are other aspects of Aḥob's cosmology, which he does not discuss in his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion but does include in his diagrammatic illustration, attached to this scholion. These include "the highest heaven of heavens" (ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ), "the region of the stars" (ܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ), and "(the region) of the clouds and mists and winds" (ܐܬܪܐ ܕܥܢܢܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܐ). If his approach (as established above) can be used as an indicator, it is unlikely that he is relying on one or more specific sources for his presentation of these three cosmological levels. Rather, he is likely either reproducing common Antiochene understandings of them or developing aspects of them in a distinctively Aḥobian manner.[161]

5.4.2.3 Church Architecture

In his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, Aḥob makes an analogy to three church architectural features in "the sanctuary of churches" (ܩܕܫܬܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ), which very likely

out like a tent for a habitation?" (ܡܢܐ ܗܝ ܕܡܬܚܙܝ ܀ ܕܫܪܝ ܒܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܕܒܢ ܠܡܫܟܢ ܠܗ ܕܒܗ ܫܪܝ ܠܗ ܕܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܫܪܝ ܕܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܫܪܝ ܕܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܀ ܕܡܫܟܢ).

156 Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 163, 202–203.

157 Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, *6–7*.

158 Ibid., *4–5*, *3*.

159 For a further discussion of this word, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.7. A Rare Word of Uncertain Etymology.

160 Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, *24*, *20*, *26*, *26–27*.

161 For a further discussion of this diagrammatic illustration, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.16. Psalm 104:2–3.

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refers to the apse. Each of these church architectural features corresponds to part of Aḥob's cosmology:

– "dome" (ܟܟܒܐ) = "that exalted heaven" (ܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܐ)
– "level roof" (ܣܝܪܐ ܫܘܝܐ) = "this visible firmament" (ܗܢܐ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܢܚܙܐ)
– "floor" (ܐܪܥܐ) = "the earth" (ܐܪܥܐ).[162]

Beyond the strong probability that he is referencing contemporary church architecture (possibly the churches in and/or around the vicinity of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where he taught),[163] Aḥob's analogy shares one point of commonality with a slightly earlier Syriac work, namely, the anonymous *sogitha* on the Church of Edessa (written ca. 543–554).[164] Its relevant part (i.e. its first two octosyllabic hemistichs of strophe 6) states, "[The temple's] lofty dome! Behold, it resembles the highest heaven!" (ܟܟܒܐ ܪܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܐ ܠܗ ܟܟܒܐ ܪܡ

may have been familiar with it. Rather, he seems to be engaging with the *sogitha's* broader genre of *madrashe* (teaching hymns),[167] namely (what Kathleen McVey has called) "architectural *theoria*,"[168] i.e. "a contemplation of the church building."[169] Since the *sogitha* on the church of Edessa "is the earliest extant document which associates the central dome (and other architectural features) of a Christian church with cosmology,"[170] this would situate Aḥob's analogy as one of the earliest known instances of architectural *theoria*. Furthermore, his specific reference to the "level roof" of the altar baldachin appears to be the earliest extant reference to this architectural feature in the context of a comparison with cosmology.

5.4.3 *Other Sources*

Beyond his Greek and Syriac sources, Aḥob relies on a number of other sources, including Jewish exegesis and customs, Hebrew readings, Greek readings, med-

167 Other related works include Eusebius of Caesarea's (ca. 260–ca. 340) *Panegyric on the Church at Tyre* and Balai's (early 5th century) *madrasha* on the Church at Qenneshrin. However, neither of these works contain material that is comparable with Aḥob's analogy to church architecture. See McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 347–349, 359–367; Paul Bedjan (ed.), *Histoire ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1897), 565, *2*–584, *7*; William Wright and Norman McLean (eds.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac Edited from the Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 392, *19*–404, *20*; Eberhard Nestle, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, NF 6.2 [21.2]; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1901), 280–290; J. Josephus Overbeck (ed.), *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque Opera selecta e codicibus syriacis manuscriptis in museo Britannico et bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865), 251, *1*–258, *4*.

168 For a 10th-century source of East Syriac "architectural *theoria*," see Richard Hugh Connolly (trans.), *A Commentary on the Mass* (*Which Has Been Attributed to, But It Is Not Really*) *by the Nestorian George, Bishop of Mosul and Arbel* (*10th Century*) (Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India Publications 243; Kottayam, India: Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, 2000).

169 McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 334 and idem, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 110. It is unclear if Aḥob was knowledgeable of the Greek *kontakion* for the Inauguration of Hagia Sophia, which was written in 562. For comparative studies of this hymn with the *sogitha* on the Church of Edessa, see Palmer, "The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa," 117–151 and McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 335–337, 350–351. Cf. Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, "The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 47–82.

170 McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 91. See also idem, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 329–330, which specifies that this *sogitha* "is an alphabetical acrostic consisting of twenty-two strophes, each with four octosyllabic hemistichs."

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ical phraseology, and the language of Qatar. His Coptic and Persian references, a rare word of uncertain etymology, and miscellaneous references will also be examined. Aḥob's use of these other sources will be discussed in the following eight subsections, which are largely organized in descending order of influence upon his Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.[171] The exception to this format will be Subsection 5.4.3.8., in which Aḥob's miscellaneous references are explored.

5.4.3.1 Jewish Exegesis and Customs

Among his Old Testament scholia, Aḥob relies on Jewish exegesis and customs on four occasions. Each of these instances will be examined in the following four subsections.

5.4.3.1.1 *Numbers 21:19*

In his Numbers 21:19 scholion, Aḥob discusses a water-giving stone (also known as a "walking rock"). He refers to this stone and its waters in four descriptive ways:

1) "waters of the stone" (ܡ̈ܝ ܕܟܐܦܐ)
2) "it will give its waters" (ܢܬܠ ܡ̈ܝܗ)
3) "they would go out from it" (ܕܢܦܩ ܡ̈ܝ ܡܢܗ)
4) "Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water" (ܕܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܐܟܦܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܢܦܩ ܡ̈ܝ ܘܡܫܕܪ ܡ̈ܝ ܠܒܪ ,ܣ.ܚ).[172]

This water-giving stone is mentioned by three Jewish sources as a moving well:

– Targum Ps.-Jonathan Num 20:2: "And because for Miriam's merit a well was given, when she died the well was hidden. Then there was no water for the congregation, and they gathered against Moses and against Aaron."[173]
– Tosefta Sukka 3:11: "So the well, which was with Israel in the wilderness, was like a rock of the size of a k'bara, and was oozing out and rising as from the mouth of this flask, travelling with them up the mountains and going down with them to the valleys. Wherever Israel encamped it encamped

171 The text, line numbers, and English translation of Aḥob words and phrases used in the following eight subsections are taken from his Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1. Old Testament Exegetical Works. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

172 Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion, *1*, *2*, *2–3*, *6–9*.

173 Martin McNamara and Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum Neofiti 1: Numbers: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes / Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Numbers: Translated, with Notes* (The Aramaic Bible, vol. 4; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1995), 244. The date of this work is unknown.

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opposite them before the door of the Tabernacle. The princes of Israel with their slaves surrounded it, and said over it this song, Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it. Then the waters bubbled forth, and rose on high like a pillar …"[174]

– Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*: "But as for his own people, he led them forth into the wilderness: forty years did he rain bread from heaven for them, and he brought them quails from the sea, and a well of water following them brought he forth for them …"[175]

Paul references this tradition in 1 Cor 10:4,[176] and, as a result, it is also discussed by later Christian writers, who refer to this water-giving stone as a rock. Two examples will be given:

– Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise* 5.1.: "I considered the Word of the Creator, and likened it to the rock that marched with the people of Israel in the wilderness; it was not from the reservoir of water contained within it that it poured forth for them glorious streams: there was no water in the rock, yet oceans sprang forth from it; just so did the Word fashion created things out of nothing."[177]
– John Chrysostom, *Homily 23*: "[T]his was a symbol of the Font, and that which follows, of the Holy Table. For as you eat the Lord's Body, so they the manna: and as you drink the Blood, so they water from a rock. For though they were things of sense which were produced, yet were they spiritually exhibited, not according to the order of nature, but according to the gracious intention of the gift, and together with the body nourished also the

174 A. W. Greenup, *Sukkah, Mishna and Tosefta: With Introduction, Translation and Short Notes* (London: S.P.C.K., 1925), 76. This work dates to roughly 200 A.D.

175 M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo: Now First Translated from the Old Latin Version* (London: S.P.C.K., 1917), 105–106. This work dates from the mid-1st to the mid-2nd century A.D.

176 1 Cor 10:4 states, "And all drank the same spiritual drink. For they were drinking from the spiritual rock that was coming with them. But that rock was Christ" (ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܬܘ ܡܫܬܝܬܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܓܝܪ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܗܠܟ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܘܬܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ). For a discussion of the Jewish background of Paul's mentioning of the walking rock in 1 Cor 10:4, see E. Earle Ellis, "A Note on First Corinthians 10:4," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76 (1957): 53–56; Peter E. Enns, "The 'Moveable Well' in 1 Cor 10:4: An Extrabiblical Tradition in an Apostolic Text," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 6 (1996): 23–38; Bruce N. Fisk, "Pseudo-Philo, Paul and Israel's Rolling Stone: Early Points along an Exegetical Trajectory," in Kenneth E. Pomykala (ed.), *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 10; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 117–136.

177 Sebastian Brock (trans.), *Saint Ephrem: Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 102. Ephrem died in 373.

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> soul, leading it unto faith. On this account, you see, touching the food he made no remark, for it was entirely different, not in mode only but in nature also; (for it was manna;) but respecting the drink, since the manner only of the supply was extraordinary and required proof, therefore having said that they drank the same spiritual drink, he added, for they drank of a spiritual Rock that followed them, and he subjoined, and the Rock was Christ. For it was not the nature of the rock which sent forth the water, (such is his meaning,) else would it as well have gushed out before this time: but another sort of Rock, a spiritual One, performed the whole, even Christ who was everywhere with them and wrought all the wonders. For on this account he said, that followed them."[178]

Aḥob mentions one detail of this tradition that is found (in a comparable manner) in Tosefta Sukka, Ps.-Philo, and Chrysostom (i.e. Jewish and Christian sources): "that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water." Furthermore, he describes this moving well as a "stone," which only has a comparable usage in Ephrem and Chrysostom (i.e. Christian sources), both of whom likely derive the word from 1 Cor 10:4. Aḥob also references two details that either predate extant Jewish and Christian sources or originate from him: 1) the use of two Old Testament examples—namely, Moses (as described in Ps 78:16) and Elisha (in 2 Kgs 2:19–22)—to further support the biblical basis (i.e. validity) of this tradition, and 2) an emphasis that, even though these waters were miraculous, they came from waters already present in the existing created order.

Thus, Aḥob utilizes aspects of this tradition that were comparably used in both Jewish and Christian sources, while he references other details that have no comparison among extant Jewish and Christian sources. Considering the points of commonality mentioned above, it is unlikely that Aḥob is relying on any particular source for his understanding of this tradition. The specific manner by which Aḥob accessed this tradition—whether via Jewish sources, Christian sources, or a combination of both—remains unclear, though if he did use a Jewish source unknown to earlier Christian writers, he would have likely accessed it by means of a Jewish informant.

5.4.3.1.2 *Psalm 45 Prologue*

Aḥob's extant Psalm 45 Prologue scholion begins with a polemical statement: "But the Jews in their madness take this psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and

178 Kevin Knight, "Homily 23 on First Corinthians: 1 Corinthians 10:1–4," accessed 25 June 2021, https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/220123.htm. Chrysostom lived ca. 347–407.

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concerning his Egyptian wife" (ܠܚܕ ܥܠܡܐ ܠܚ ܥܡܗܕܥ ܡ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܚܡ ܟܗܝܟ ;ܡ ܡܗܘ ܟ). [179] As previously demonstrated, Aḥob uses three phrases—"But the Jews in their madness" (ܟܬܒ ܥܡܗܕܥ ܡ), "this psalm" (ܟܡ ܟܝܗܟ), and "Solomon and … his … wife" (ܡܗܘ ܟ … ܘ ܥܠܡ)—to either summarize or quote the equivalent portion of Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue, [180] meaning Aḥob accessed this Jewish tradition via Theodore. [181]

5.4.3.1.3 *Psalm 110 Prologue*

In his Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, Aḥob references two Jewish exegetical traditions. The first is given within a polemical statement: "But the stupid Jews take it [i.e. Ps 110] as (being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca, that (is) as if these words were spoken by him" (ܡ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟ ܠܗ ܠܡܚܡ ܟ ;ܡ ܟ ܟ ;ܡ ;ܡ ;ܡ

While Aḥob's first Ps 110 Jewish exegetical tradition and Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 108b agree that David spoke Ps 110 as if in the person of Eliezer,[184] the former departs from the latter by insisting that Ps 110 was spoken "when he went to betroth Rebecca" (ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܚܬܢ ܠܪܒܩܐ). Since the Rebeccaite aspect of this Jewish tradition is not attested in Rabbinic literature, there are three possible ways by which Aḥob accessed it: 1) Theodore's (now lost) commentary on Ps 110(109),[185] 2) an otherwise unknown text, or, 3) Jewish oral tradition, via a Jewish informant. Any one of these options would also explain how he was able to access the Eliezer aspect of this Jewish tradition.

Aḥob's second Ps 110 Jewish exegetical tradition states the following: "it is confessed by them [i.e. the Jews] that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*" (: ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܘܬܝܢ ܒܐܠܦܒܝܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܢܝܬܗ ܕܒܗ ܟܬܝܒ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܕܫܘܝܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝ. ܘܗܠ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܫܡܗ ܒܐܪܒܥ ܐܘܬܝܢ ܗܘ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܗ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝ ܘܐܕܢܝ).[186] This is arguably a reference to the divine appellations, YHWH and Adonai. There are four possible ways by which Aḥob could have accessed these Hebrew names: 1) Peshitta Exod 3:14 (for part of YHWH),[187] 2) Theodore's (now lost) commentary on Exod 3 or Ps 110(109), 3) an otherwise unknown text, or, 4) any number of verses in the Hebrew Bible, via a Jewish informant. Beyond these sources, it is worth noting that Aḥob could not have been relying on Syro-Hexapla Isaiah's usages of the Tetragrammaton,[188] because this text was first introduced to East Syriac exegetes around 800,[189] i.e. more than two centuries after Aḥob lived.

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184 The wider Jewish tradition interprets Ps 110 as being spoken to Abraham. See Rabbi Adin Even-Israel Steinsaltz, "Sefaria: Midrash Tehillim 110," accessed 27 June 2021, https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tehillim.110?lang=bi. This work dates from ca. 1050–ca. 1450 A.D.

185 Aḥob derives the majority of his Ps 45 Jewish tradition from Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue. For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsections 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue and 5.4.3.1.2. Psalm 45 Prologue.

186 Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, *16–22*.

187 Exod 3:14 states, "And God said to Moses, 'I AM WHO I AM.' And, thus, he said, 'You will tell the people of Israel, "I AM has sent me to you."'" (ܐܡܪ ܫܡܥ. ܠܡܘܫܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܬܝ ܐܝܬܝ. ܫܡܥ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܬܝ ܫܕܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܝܬܝ. ܫܡܥ).

188 See Eberhard Nestle, "Jakob von Edessa über den Schem hammephorasch und andere Gottesnamen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Tetragrammaton," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 32, no. 3 (1878): 468, 507 and Alison Salvesen, "Did Jacob of Edessa Know Hebrew?," in Ada Rapoport Albert and Gillian Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrews, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 333; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 466–467.

189 Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Biblical Studies in the Church of the East: The Case of Catholicos

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5.4.3.1.4 *Calendrical Scholion*

In his Calendrical scholion, Aḥob discusses a Jewish custom that responds to conflicting Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath when they fall on the same day. He presents select parts of this Jewish custom in three descriptive ways:

1) There was a custom for the Jews that when the fourteenth was falling on the Sabbath, there were two laws which were breaking one another in one day, that is to say, the fourteenth and the Sabbath (ܪܡܐ ܕܢ ܕܒ ܝܘܡ ܡܐܟ. ܪܟܚܕ ܪܚܫܒܝܢ ܪܡܐ ܚܕ ܕܟܪܐ. ܪܒܘܬ ܠܫܒܬܐ ܪܚܕ ܪܚܫܒܝܢ ܥܡ ܪܒ ܐܢ. ܪܟܐ ܕܫ ܫ ܠܫ ܫ ܝܘܡ ܡܥܪܒ. ܪܟܐ ܕܢ ܐܢ ܪܚܫܒܝܢ. ܪܟܚܕ ܕܢ ܐܢ

The specifics of this Jewish custom are presented in great detail in Mishnah Pesachim 65b–66a, 92b–94b.[193] However, since it is impossible to determine which parts of this Aḥob scholion have likely been reworked by later East Syriac scribes or by Shbadnaya himself,[194] one cannot accurately compare these two texts. Nevertheless, one manner by which Aḥob accessed these tractates is alluded to in the final sentence of his scholion: "And, in this way, Jews in every place also do (this) until now" (ܗܟܢܐ ܝܥܒܕ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܘܐܬܪ ܥܕ ܗܫܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ).[195] In short (and if accepted at face value), Aḥob appears to have been an eyewitness to this Jewish custom. However, this alone does not explain his knowledge of the other aspects of this Jewish custom. Therefore, Aḥob accessed (at minimum) certain parts of this Jewish custom either by an otherwise unknown text or, perhaps more likely, by way of a Jewish informant.

5.4.3.2 Hebrew Readings

Within his Psalm scholia, Aḥob uses four Hebrew readings as alternative explanations for select difficult Peshitta words and phrases, probably because he knew that the Peshitta had been translated from the MT.[196] If these Aḥob Hebrew readings are compared with the MT, they appear as follows:

1st Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion (*1–2*)[197]	**MT Psalm 45:9**
"the Hebrew says, 'ivory'" (ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܓܠܝ)	"ivory" (שֵׁן)

193 Rabbi Adin Even-Israel Steinsaltz, "Sefaria: The William Davidson Talmud Pesachim 65b–66a, 92b–94b," accessed 20 November 2020, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.65b.10-13?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.66a?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.92b.4-11?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.93a?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.93b?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.94a?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.94b?lang=bi.

194 For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.1. Calendrical Scholion.

195 Aḥob's Calendrical scholion, *29–31*.

196 Bas ter Haar Romeny, "The Peshitta and Its Rivals: On the Assessment of the Peshitta and Other Versions of the Old Testament in Syriac Exegetical Literature," *The Harp* 11–12 (1998–1999): 29.

197 The text, English translation, and line numbers (for all four tables) are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45:9, 58:4, 68:14, 68:16–17 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

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2nd Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion (*9* and *10*)	**MT Psalm 58:4**
"the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged'" (ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝܐ ... ܕܐܡܪ)	"they were estranged" (זָרוּ)

3rd Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion (*1* and *2*)	**MT Psalm 68:14**
"the Hebrew says, 'among the manure pile'" (ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܒܝܢ ... ܕܐܡܪ)	"between the sheepfolds" (בֵּין שְׁפָתָיִם)[198]

4th Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion (*1* and *1–3*)	**MT Psalm 68:16–17**
"the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] 'Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?'" (ܐܡܪ ܒܥܒܪܝܐ ... ܕܐܡܪ ܗܪ ܕܒܫܢ [68:16] ܠܡܐ ܕܝܥܝ [17] ܡܬܚܪܥ)	"Mountain of Bashan! [68:17] Why do you look with envy?" (הַר־בָּשָׁן: [68:17] לָמָּה תְּרַצְּדוּן)[199]

Each of Aḥob's Hebrew readings begins with the formulaic phrase "the Hebrew says" (ܐܡܪ ... ܕܐܡܪ / ܕܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ), which is a generic phrase introducing ad hoc information that has been obtained from one or more Jewish sources.[200]

198 The Hebrew noun שְׁפָתָיִם is only used in Ps 68:14 and Ezek 40:43, so its meaning is uncertain.

199 The Hebrew verb תְּרַצְּדוּן is only used in Ps 68:17 and Sir 14:22, so its meaning is uncertain.

200 Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 142. Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 443.

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While his 1st, 2nd, and 4th Hebrew readings present comparable Syriac words and/or phrases with the MT, Aḥob's 3rd Hebrew reading is noticeably different than the MT in Ps 68:14. It is, however, a comparable reading with what is preserved in the later Targum of Psalms[201] in this verse: "between the manure piles" (ביני קילקלתא),[202] implying that both Aḥob and the Targum of Psalms independently witness the early Jewish interpretation of the word as "manure pile."

It is also worth noting that at least part of Aḥob's 4th Hebrew reading was known to Jerome (c. 347–420), who uses a comparable translation in the Vulgate in this verse (i.e. Ps 67:17): "why are you arguing?" (*quare contenditis*).[203] While Aḥob is clearly not reading the Vulgate, both he and Jerome are reporting what contemporary Jews understood the Hebrew verb תִּרְצָדוּן to mean, implying that Aḥob and Jerome are independent witnesses to the same Jewish exegetical tradition.

Michael Weitzman surveyed the Hebrew readings preserved in several Syriac commentaries on the Old Testament credited to Ephrem (all of which are unlikely to have been written by him) and concluded that these readings can be grouped into four distinct categories:

1) "(those offering) an alternative treatment of the Hebrew, which comes closer than (the) Peshitta to (the) MT"
2) "(those where the Hebrew and the Peshitta) are sometimes comparably close to (the) MT but mutually different"
3) "(those which) provide an interpretation known through Targum Onqelos but not (the) Peshitta"
4) "(those referring) to the Hebrew language or a Hebrew word."[204]

Ter Haar Romeny suggested that Aḥob's Hebrew readings are examples of Weitzman's "first and second categories … (in that) they give other interpretations of the MT …, which are either just as close to it as is the Peshitta, or even closer, for instance because they are more literal or because they represent the Masoretic vocalization rather than any other."[205] If Weitzman's third

201 The date of this Targum remains uncertain, though it was not widely known or used until roughly the High Middle Ages, i.e. several centuries after Aḥob lived. See David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible, vol. 16; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2004), 1–2.

202 P. de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice* (Leipzig, 1873), 37, *24*. Stec translates this phrase as "among the dunghills." See idem, *The Targum of Psalms*, 130.

203 Roger Weber, Roger Gryson, et al., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 851.

204 Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 139–141.

205 Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 455.

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category of Hebrew readings is slightly modified to state, "(those which) provide an interpretation known through a Targum but not (the) Peshitta," then Ter Haar Romeny's classification of Aḥob's Hebrew readings should be revised and expanded to include Weitzman's first, third, and fourth categories:

– 1st Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's fourth category)
– 2nd Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's first category)
– 3rd Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's third category)
– 4th Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's first category).

In order to determine the specific source by which Aḥob accessed his Hebrew readings, it is important to consider whether or not he may have relied on earlier Greek sources. A comparison of Aḥob's Hebrew readings with the Greek sources recorded in Frederick Field's *Origenis hexaplorum* yields the following:

– Aḥob's 1st Hebrew Reading: "ivory" (ܫܢܝܪ)
  – Greek Aquila: "from temples of tooth" (ἀπὸ ναῶν ὀδόντος)
  – Syriac Aquila: "from temples of ivory" (ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ̈ܝ ܫܢܝܪ)[206]
– Aḥob's 2nd Hebrew Reading: "they were estranged" (ܐܬܬܙܪܘ)
  – No recorded variant readings[207]
– Aḥob's 3rd Hebrew Reading: "among the manure pile" (ܒܓܘ ܡܙܒܠܐ)
  – Greek Aquila and Symmachus: "between the frontiers" (μεταξὺ τῶν ὁρίων)[208]
– Aḥob's 4th Hebrew Reading: "Mountains of Bashan, why (are) you arguing?" (ܛܘܪ̈ܝ ܒܫܢ ܠܡܐ ܫܢܝܬ)
  – Greek Aquila: "why are you arguing?" (εἰς τί ἐρίζετε)
  – Syriac Aquila (in the Syro-Hexapla): "why are you arguing?" (ܠܡܐ ܐܬܟܪܟܬ)
  – Symmachus: "why are you striving?" (εἰς τί περισπουδάζετε)
  – Theodotion: "why do you sit in judgement?" (ἱνατί δικάζεσθε).[209]

This data, along with the observations noted earlier in this subsection, suggests several things:

– Aḥob's 1st and 4th Hebrew readings are in the same form in Aquila (i.e. Aḥob had the same understanding of the Hebrew text as Aquila), although in Ps 45:9 Aquila was just accurately reporting the Hebrew, with no special translation skills needed.

206 Field, *Origenis hexaplorum* (vol. 2), 163 and n. 35.
207 Ibid., 185.
208 Ibid., 201.
209 Ibid., 202 and n. 40.

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- In Ps 68:17, Aquila has the same understanding of the Hebrew text as Aḥob, which differs from the readings preserved in Symmachus and Theodotion. But the Syriac form of Aquila attested in the Syro-Hexapla has a different Syriac wording to that of Aḥob. In other words, Aḥob cannot be dependent upon the Syro-Hexapla here.
- Aḥob's 1st Hebrew reading uses the Hebrew meaning to emend the Peshitta text, meaning this reading cannot have come from Greek exegetical sources.
- Aḥob's 1st and 4th Hebrew readings likely share the Jewish interpretation known to Aquila, though his 1st Hebrew reading is so unspecific that it is not very diagnostic.
- Aḥob's 2nd and 3rd Hebrew readings are unknown to earlier Greek witnesses and the Church Fathers, meaning Aḥob did not draw these Hebrew readings from a Greek source.

In short, Aḥob's Hebrew readings do not appear to be drawn from Greek witnesses or patristic sources.

Another piece of evidence for the source of Aḥob's Hebrew readings may be found in the introductory formulaic phrase to his 4th Hebrew reading: "the Hebrew clearly says" (ܟܬܝܒ ܒܥܒܪܝܐ ... ܡܦܫ). Aḥob's use of the adverb "clearly" (ܒܥܒܪܝܐ) suggests that he had direct access to, at least, this reading. Ter Haar Romeny proposed more broadly that Aḥob obtained all of his Hebrew readings "by consulting an informant, who must have interpreted the Hebrew or one of the Targumim for him."[210] In a related manner, Aḥob's 3rd Hebrew reading reveals that he had access to Jewish oral tradition. This, along with the evidence presented earlier in this subsection, suggests an independent Jewish source (possibly a Jewish informant) for Aḥob's four Hebrew readings[211]—whether his own source or one known to his teachers, for whom there is no record.

5.4.3.3 Greek Readings

Within his Psalm scholia, Aḥob uses three Greek readings as an alternative explanation for select difficult Peshitta phrases, likely because he knew the LXX had been the biblical text of earlier Greek Antiochene writers, such as Theodore and Basil. If these Aḥob Greek readings are compared with the LXX, they appear as follows:

210 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 153.

211 Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 456.

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1st Greek Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion (*2* and *3–4*)[212]	**LXX Psalm 67:14**
"the Greek says, 'between the lots'" (ܐܡܪ ܒܝܢ ܟܦ̈ܐ ... ܐܡܪ)	"between the lots" (μέσον τῶν κλήρων)

2nd Greek Reading

V. 16 of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16–17 scholion (*3* and *3–5*)	**LXX Psalm 67:16**
"the Greek says, 'Fat mountains, mountains of curd'" (ܛܘܪܐ ܫܡܝܢ ... ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܛܘܪ ܫܡܝܢ)	"fat mountain, curdled mountain" (ὄρος πῖον, ὄρος τετυρωμένον)

3rd Greek Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion (*5* and *5–7*)	**LXX Psalm 109:3**
"the Greek says, 'From the womb and before the morning star I begot you'" (ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܨܒܝܬ ... ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܠܕ ܝܠܕܬ)	"from the womb before the morning star I begot you" (ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε)

Each of Aḥob's Greek readings begins with the formulaic phrase "the Greek says" (ܐܡܪ ... ܐܡܪ), which, similar to the Hebrew, is a generic phrase introducing ad hoc information that has been obtained from one or more Greek sources.[213]

212 The text, English translation, and line numbers (for all three tables) are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 68:14, 68:16–17, 110:3 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

213 Van Rompay, "Between the School and the Monk's Cell," 47. Cf. Weitzman, *The Syriac*

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All three of Aḥob's Greek readings present Syriac phrases which closely match the text of the LXX.

Concerning the specific source(s) by which Aḥob accessed these Greek readings, one piece of evidence may be found in Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms*. When Theodore's Greek *Commentary on Psalms* and other Old Testament commentaries were translated into Syriac in the 5th century, its translators sometimes followed "Theodore's Greek reading (of the LXX), especially when they found a difference in the choice of words, or in the construction or extent of a phrase … (other times they) gave the quotation first in the form of the Peshitta and then in the form of the Septuagint, which they explicitly introduced as … 'the Greek.'"[214] Leonhard showed that Isho'dad relied on Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms* for some of his Greek readings.[215] He concluded this based on borrowed phraseology and placement: if a Greek reading was presented before a given interpretation, it was "very likely (to have been) taken over into Isho'dad's work together with its interpretation from Theodore's commentary."[216] Aḥob also utilized Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms* (as alluded to in Subsection 5.4.1.1. above); however, since all that remains of this text is Theodore's commentary on Ps 119(118); 139(138)–147, it is not possible to compare Aḥob's Greek readings with Theodore's parallel Syriac text. If one considers the placement of Aḥob's Greek readings in his scholia, two complicating factors arise:

1) Aḥob's 1st and 2nd Greek readings follow his 3rd and 4th Hebrew readings, respectively, and each comprises all that is extant of his Psalm 68:14 and Psalm 68:16–17 scholia.
2) Aḥob situates his 3rd Greek reading in the middle of his Psalm 110:3 scholion.

While it is impossible to know the original placements of his 1st and 2nd Greek readings, the placement of Aḥob's 3rd Greek reading does not conform to the pattern that Leonhard established. However, the above factors do not necessarily imply that Aḥob's Greek readings are not Theodorean in origin. As is shown in the Subsection 5.4.1.1. tables above, Aḥob follows the general progression of Theodore's Greek *Commentary on Psalms* (and by extension his Syriac *Commentary on Psalms* as well), at least where clear examples of dependence can be established. However, it is possible that Aḥob's approach to Theodorean exege-

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Version of the Old Testament, 142 and Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 443.

214 Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 434.

215 Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139–147*, 44–48.

216 Ibid., 48–49.

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sis did not extend to later Theodorean Greek readings placed before his Syriac commentary on various verses. If this is accepted, it is conceivable that Aḥob could have intentionally altered the placement of (at least)[217] three of these Greek readings and situated each in the middle of or after a given interpretation (i.e. scholion), rather than strictly preceding it, as Isho'dad would later do in his *Commentary on Psalms*. While it cannot be determined (with any degree of certainty) that Aḥob drew his Greek readings from Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms*, circumstantial evidence suggests that it may well have functioned as Aḥob's source at this point. If Aḥob relied on another source for his Greek readings, it is unclear what it may have been, though it could not have been the Syro-Hexapla.[218]

5.4.3.4 Medical Phraseology

Aḥob uses medical phraseology in two of his Old Testament scholia. Each of these instances will be examined in the following two subsections.

5.4.3.4.1 *Psalm 39:6*

In v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, Aḥob makes several medical references: "For just as by time and birth, together with a change of air, the afflictions of blindness and deafness, together with chances of sicknesses, are bestowed" (ܟܡܐ ܕܒܙܒܢܐ ܘܒܝܠܕܐ ܥܡ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܐܘܝܪܐ ܥܡ ܡܟܝܢ ܕܥܡ ܣܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܪܫܐ ܥܡ ܡܟܝܢ ܕܥܡ ܣܟܢܬܐ ܡܬܝܗܒܝܢ).[219] If one briefly focuses on the phrase "change of air" (ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܐܘܝܪܐ), it arguably functions as an indicator as to where the rest of the phrase also likely originated. The Greek physician, Hippocrates (460–370 B.C.), is said to have written a treatise entitled, "On the Prognosis of Diseases Caused by a Change of Air."[220] While it is unclear if this

217 It is quite possible that Aḥob's originally larger collection of Old Testament exegetical works included other Greek readings as well. For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

218 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.1.3. Psalm 110 Prologue. It is also worth noting that, according to Moses of Inghilene (6th century), Polycarp (ca. 500), the author of the Philoxenian New Testament, produced a translation of the Psalms, presumably from the LXX. However, this work is no longer extant. See Sebastian P. Brock, "Versions, Ancient (Syriac Versions)," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 6:795.

219 Aḥob's Psalm 39:4–6 scholion, *53–57*.

220 Robert Alessi (trans.), "Ibn Abi Usaibia: History of Physicians (1971) pp. 1–195," accessed 19 June 2019, http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ibn_abi_usaibia_01.htm. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder (eds.), *A Literary History of Medicine: The* 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' *of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah* 3.1 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 85 translate the title of this treatise as "Prognosis of the Diseases Arising from Environmental Changes."

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work was transmitted with other Hippocratic and Galenic writings, it does not appear to have been translated into Syriac by Sergius of Resh'ayna (d. 536),[221] or even later by Job of Edessa (d. ca. 835) or Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 873), and, thus, it is highly improbable that Aḥob would have known of its existence.[222] In *Syriac Epidemics* 7.2., the phrase "changes in the air" (ܫܚܠܦ ܐܘܝܪ; attributed to Hippocrates) is used, albeit in relation to oppressive odors.[223] Kessel has argued that the *Syriac Epidemics* were likely translated from Greek by Sergius of Resh'ayna, and, as a result, it is quite likely that Aḥob would have been aware of this work.[224] Since Aḥob is not referring to oppressive odors (or any other specific thing akin to this) in his comments on Ps 39:6, it seems that he is likely implying generalized medical information,[225] which would have been

221 While none of the writers of the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye (discussed in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.4.) are known to have produced any original medical texts or copies of earlier material, they likely possessed, at minimum, a generalized understanding of the subject. Aside from Aḥob's Old Testament scholia, medical phraseology can be found in Isaac of Nineveh's ascetic writings. See Alexeï Muraviev, "Mar Isḥaq Ninevita and Possible Medical Context of Eastern Syriac Asceticism," *Parole de l'Orient* 40 (2015): 287–301.

222 Gotthelf Bergsträsser (ed.), *Hunain ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen Übersetzungen* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 17.2; Leipzig: Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1925), 1–43 (German); John C. Lamoreaux, *Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq on his Galen Translations: A Parallel English-Arabic Text* (Eastern Christian Texts; Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2016), 153–167; Rainer Degen, "Galen im Syrischen. Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung der Werke Galens," in Vivian Nutton (ed.), *Galen: Problems and Prospects* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981), 133–160. A similar work, "Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Treatise 'Airs, Waters, Places,'" was first translated into Syriac by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, meaning it likewise could not have been a source for Aḥob. See Abraham Wasserstein (ed.), *Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Treatise "Airs, Waters, Places" in the Hebrew Translation of Solomon ha-Me'ati* (Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, VI 3; Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Printing Enterprises, 1982), 5–6.

223 Grigory M. Kessel, "The *Syriac Epidemics* and the Problem of Its Identification," in Peter E. Pormann (ed.), *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition* (Scientia Graeco-Arabica 8; Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 106, 108–109. A critical edition of the *Syriac Epidemics* is currently being prepared by Kessel.

224 Kessel, "The *Syriac Epidemics* and the Problem of Its Identification," 113–117. While Sergius was a West Syriac writer and translator, he was in close contact with East Syriac writers, who circulated his writings and translations.

225 Cf. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics, or "The Book of Medicines"* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), x, which states that one part of treating most diseases included living in "a cool, airy dwelling place." Budge's edition is based on an unnamed 12th-century East Syriac manuscript, which he financed to have copied in Alqosh in the late 19th or early 20th century. Budge believes the unnamed writer of his base manuscript preserves medical information that was taught in the early Syriac-speaking world. However, he unfortunately does not give any evidence to validate his claim. See

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known to learned East Syriac writers in the 6th century, largely due to Sergius' translations of the Galenic corpus.[226] Aḥob's other medical references stated above, namely "the afflictions of blindness and deafness" (ܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܡܝܘܬܐ ܘܛܪܫܘܬܐ) and "chances of sicknesses" (ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܪܥܝܢ) are likely used in a similar manner as "change of air," in that they are meant to be understood as stock medical language of the 6th century. As a result, a specific source for the phrases "afflictions of blindness and deafness" and "chances of sicknesses" probably does not exist, though the general concepts embodied by them likely originate in Sergius' translations of the Galenic corpus.

5.4.3.4.2 *Psalm 42:2*

Aḥob opens his Psalm 42:2 scholion with a medical reference: "Because, then, stags are by nature more dry and hot than other animals" (ܡܛܠ ܗܢ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܥܠ ܦܘܣ ܒܝܒܫ ܘܚܡܝܡ ܡܢ ܫܪ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܒܥܝܪ ܕܒܪ ܐܝܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܛܒܝܥܬܐ).[227] While the specific origin of stags being considered "more dry and hot than other animals" is unclear,[228] the general sense of this Aḥobian phrase likely reflects common medical theory of the 6th century, as derived from Galen's doctrine of the four humors, which is detailed in such works as *On the Elements according to Hippocrates*[229] and *On Temperaments*.[230] Sergius of Resh'ayna translated these two works into Syriac,[231] which would have made them accessible to Aḥob.

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ibid., v–vi and Grigory M. Kessel, "Syriac Medicine," in Daniel King (ed.), *The Syriac World* (Routledge Worlds; London: Routledge, 2019), 444.

226 Cf. Peter E. Pormann, "Les traductions syriaques et arabes des textes médicaux au début de l'époque abbasside," in Pauline Koetschet and Peter E. Pormann (eds.), *Nash'at al-ṭibb al-ʿArabī fī al-Qurūn al-Wusṭá* (Bayrūt: al-Maʿhad al-Faransī lil-Sharq al-Adná, 2016), 43–59 and Sebastian P. Brock, "Greek, Syriac translations from," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 181.

227 Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion, *1–3*.

228 Similar phraseology (in English translation) is found in the later Greek text, *Peri Trophon Dynameos* (approx. 12th century), as well as in Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn ʿĪsā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (1371). The former states, "Deer is hot by nature … Gazelle is hot and dry …," and the latter states, "… the flesh of the gazelle is hot and dry …." See Andrew Dalby, *Tastes of Byzantium: The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 143 and A. S. G. Jayakar (trans.), *Ad-Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (*A Zoological Lexicon*), 2 vols. (London: Luzac & Co. 1908), 271.

229 Cf. P. N. Singer and Philip J. van der Eijk (trans.), *Galen: Works on Human Nature: Volume 1: Mixtures* (*De Temperamentis*) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 50, n. 6, "*The Elements according to Hippocrates* is Galen's fullest account of the theory of qualities/elements."

230 Phillip de Lacy (ed. and trans.), *Galen: On the Elements according to Hippocrates* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996) and Singer and Van der Eijk, *Mixtures* (*De Temperamentis*).

231 Degen, "Galen im Syrischen," 135.

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5.4.3.5 The Language of Qatar

Initial reports of the language of Qatar were presented as simple references, summaries, and/or short lists of words, as preserved by a given East Syriac writer or manuscript tradition under discussion.[232] In 1989, Anton Schall assessed 9 Qatari words in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Genesis* and concluded that the language of Qatar should be categorized as "Southeastern Aramaic" (Südostaramäischen).[233] Riccardo Contini expanded Schall's study of the language to 12 words (taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, and the *Anonymous Commentary*), and, while he agreed with Schall that it should be classified as Southeastern Aramaic, he noted the elusive nature of the language and the need for further investigation.[234] Ter Haar Romeny largely agreed with Contini, though he proposed that the language of Qatar might also be understood "as a form of Arabic written down by someone used to writing Aramaic."[235] In his 2017 overview of studies on the seventh-century Syriac writers originating from Qatar, Mario Kozah suggested that the language of Qatar was a separate language from Arabic.[236] Subsequently, in 2021, he produced a lengthy study of 50 Qatari words (taken from the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* and the *Anonymous Commentary*), many of which have recently been discovered.[237] While he considers the possibility that the language of Qatar was originally a form of Aramaic (with some Syriac and Pahlavi influence) which gradually became dominated by Arabic, he ultimately dismisses this theory on the basis that no pre-Islamic evidence for the language exists, and, instead, he asserts that "the weight of the present data suggests that *Qaṭrāyīth* is Arabic."[238]

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232 See, for instance, Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5 (esp. n. 1)–6 (Latin); Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 88; Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), v, 219, n. 1, 270; idem, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), 226; Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), xxxv, 368; Van Rompay, "A hitherto unknown Nestorian commentary," 77; idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 160; Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxxii and n. 81, xliii.

233 Anton Schall, "Der nestorianische Bibelexeget Īšō'dāḏ von Merw (9. Jh. n. Chr.) in seiner Bedeutung für die orientalische Philologie," in Maria Macuch, Christa Müller-Kessler, and Bert G. Fragner (eds.), *Studia semitica necnon Iranica: Rudolpho Macuch septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 271–282, esp. 281.

234 Riccardo Contini, "La lingua del Bēt Qaṭrāyē," in Jérôme Lentin and Antoine Lonnet (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen: Études sur le langage, les langues, les dialectes, les littératures, offertes par ses élèves, ses collègues, ses amis, présentées à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2003), 173–179.

235 Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 152.

236 Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 78.

237 Kozah, "Introduction," 9.

238 Ibid., 10.

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Kozah's insistence that no pre-Islamic evidence exists for the language of Qatar does not appear to be entirely correct, because Aḥob directly and indirectly references this language on two occasions, indicating that the language emerged in usage at some point prior to the late 6th century,[239] which is also before the standardization of Arabic. However, given the extremely fragmented state of the language—as well as the fact that almost nothing is known about the sixth-century spoken language(s) in Qatar (i.e. Northeast Arabia),[240] further details related to the earliest form of the language of Qatar—namely, its pre-Islamic roots—remain speculative at best. Therefore, Arabic will be used to reconstruct the earliest accessible form of the language of Qatar.

While it is likely that Aḥob spoke the language of Qatar, he certainly was (at minimum) familiar with it, and his Qatari references function as the earliest attestation of the language. In the following two subsections, an analysis of each of Aḥob's references to the language of Qatar will be presented, and the underlying Arabic, if known, will also be proposed.

5.4.3.5.1 *Gloss on* ܩܛܪܝܐ

Aḥob directly cites the language of Qatar in his Psalm 45:9 scholion: "*Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar" (ܣܣܢܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܪܝܐ).[241] A nearly identical statement is also made by him in Bar Bahlul's ܩܛܪܝܐ entry: "stacte (is) *asinayith* in the language of Qatar" (ܣܣܢܝܬ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܪܝܐ).[242] Concerning his Psalm 45:9 scholion, Aḥob clearly equates "*stacte*" (ܩܛܪܝܐ) with the Qatari "*asinat*" (ܣܣܢܐ). Within his study of 50 Qatari words, Kozah analyzed *asinat*, and the relevant parts of his discussion are presented in the following:

> It appears to be derived from the Syriac *asīnūthā* [ܐܣܝܢܘܬܐ], meaning an accumulation (of gum), or, more likely, from the Arabic homonym *asīna* [أَسِينة], with a similar sense of an accumulation of a substance into bead shapes. If, therefore, this *Qaṭrāyīth* noun is Arabic transliterated using Syriac letters, then the final consonant /t/ (*taw*) in *asīnat* may be conveying the Arabic *tāʾ marbūṭa* /t/ as is occasionally the case in later Garshūnī. The *Qaṭrāyīth* feminine noun ending might in fact be pronounced in this particular Arabic, hence the addition of the /t/ rather

239 Kozah incorrectly situates Aḥob in the 7th century. See ibid., 16–17, 61–62.

240 Michael Macdonald, email message to Seth M. Stadel, 20 June 2020.

241 Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, *4*.

242 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *14*.

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> than the more commonly added Syriac /h/ to indicate the Arabic *tā' marbūṭa*. What is certain is that there is enough of a difference in the pronunciation between the Syriac *asīnūthā* and *Qaṭrāyīth asīnat* to warrant concluding that the latter is most probably derived from the Arabic homonym. If such a reading of the pronunciation is correct, then the argument that this unidentified gloss is from the *Qaṭrāyīth* of … Aḥub Qaṭraya … is further supported by the fact that *asīnat* seems to be derived from the Arabic … .[243]

If Kozah's analysis is accepted, the Arabic noun underlying the Qatari "*asinat*" (ܐܣܝܢܬ) is likely "*asīna*" (أسينة).[244]

Concerning the related statement made by Aḥob in Bar Bahlul's ܩܠܝܣ entry, the spelling of ܐܣܝܢܬ has been altered from its original form, namely, ܐܣܢܬ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul received this Aḥobian phrase as it is presented in the *Lexicon*, or if one (or more) of his later editor(s) altered the spelling of ܐܣܢܬ; it is also possible that it reflects a typesetting error when vol. 1 of the *Lexicon* was published in 1888.[245] Since Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) are clearly dependent upon Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion at this point, the underlying Arabic noun of the Qatari *asinayith* (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ) is likely "*asīna*" as well.

5.4.3.5.2 *Gloss on* ܟܬܐܬ

Aḥob is presented as indirectly citing the language of Qatar in Bar Bahlul's ܟܬܐܬ entry: "And in his [i.e. Aḥob's] dialect, he calls it 'multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment'" (ܘܒܠܗܓܬܗ ܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܟܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܨܒܥܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܟܠ ܒܣܝܐ ܕܨܒܝܥ).[246] Since the noun "multicolored cloth" (ܟܬܐ) is Syriac, whose verbal form ܦܬܐ later gave rise to the Arabic root and homonym *fatak* (فتك),[247] it is unclear how it would have been spelled in the language of Qatar.

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243 Kozah, "A Lexical Survey of *Qaṭrāyīth*," 62. Cf. idem, "Introduction," 17–18.

244 A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français, contenant toutes les racines de la langue arabe, leurs dérivés, tant dans l'idiome vulgaire que dans l'idiome littéral, ainsi que les dialectes d'Alger et de Maroc*, vol. 1 (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, 1860), 34. See also Kozah, "A Lexical Survey of *Qaṭrāyīth*," 61.

245 For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.1. ܩܠܝܣ.

246 Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1646, 1–2.

247 The identification of this word as coming from Syriac is based on Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 1268. It is not listed in Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1886). In this context, the Arabic verb فتك means "to card cotton." See F. Steingass, *The Student's Arabic-English Dictionary: Companion Volume to the Author's English-Arabic Dictionary* (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son, 1884), 774.

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Thus, until this Qatari noun is located, its underlying Arabic form cannot be established as well.

5.4.3.6 Coptic and Persian References

Within his Old Testament scholia, Aḥob makes one Coptic and two Persian references. In his Genesis 50:10 scholion, Aḥob suggests that "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪܐ).[248] His reference to "in the Egyptian language" (ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ) likely implies Coptic, given his 6th-century setting. However, the noun, tomb, is written as "*mfaau*" (ⲙⲫⲁⲁⲩ) in Coptic,[249] which does not semantically compare to "*Aṭar*" (ܐܬܪ) in Syriac. In short, Aḥob is not quoting a Coptic noun at this point. Rather, (as discussed in Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.2.), he is reinterpreting the Gen 50:10 noun, "threshing floors" (ܐܓܪܢ)—which he believes surrounded *Aṭar*—as Jacob's burial site. He also makes a logical connection between the Gen 50:26 *hapax legomenon* "*dufnā*" (ܕܘܦܢܐ, mummy case)—in which Joseph was buried—and Jacob's burial site and concludes that since Joseph was buried in a mummy case in Egypt, Jacob's burial site would also bear an Egyptian name. In this way, he asserts (incorrectly) that "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian [i.e. Coptic] language (is) a tomb."

Turning to Aḥob's Persian references, his first one is found in his ܐܝܘܒ scholion, wherein he offers a very brief explanation of this Job 28:18 noun: "it is brocade" (ܣܒܟ ܗܘ ܒܣܝܓ).[250] Claudia Angela Ciancaglini presents a full discussion of ܒܣܝܓ and suggests, on the basis of its form—particularly the Syriac final -g (ܓ), that it is most likely a loanword from the Middle Persian *dēbāg* (دباگ).[251] While Ciancaglini mentions, earlier in the same monograph, that some Syriac words ending in a final -g also derive from New Persian words (written in Arabic) ending in a final -ǰ (ج),[252] it is unlikely that ܒܣܝܓ falls into this particular category of loanwords for two related reasons: 1) Aḥob can be firmly situated in the late 6th century[253] (i.e. when Middle Persian was the literary language used in the Sasanian empire) and 2) New Persian is first attested a few centuries after Aḥob lived.[254]

248 Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion, *1*.

249 See W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 212b. The underlying Greek nouns are τάφος and μνήμα.

250 Aḥob's ܐܝܘܒ scholion, *1*.

251 Claudia Angela Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* (Beiträge zu Iranistik 28; Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2008), 77, 150–151.

252 Ibid., 72–77.

253 For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

254 For a further discussion, see Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "IRAN vi. IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND

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Aḥob's second Persian reference is found in his Psalm 58:5–6 scholion, where he states that "asp in the Persian language is *dasāg*" (ܐܣܦ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܣܓ). [255] While the noun *dasāg* is unattested in Middle Persian, [256] it is possible that it is a dialectal variant spelling of the Pahlavi noun "*dahāg*" (دهاگ, the ancient Zoroastrian mythological dragon), where the Pahlavi "h" (ه) and the Syriac "s" (ܣ) have been confused. The longer and more common forms of *dahāg* include "*aždahāg*" (اژدهاگ) and "*aždahā*" (اژدها). [257] The noun *dahāg* is changed to *aždahāg* under Arabic influence, meaning Aḥob's varied use of *dahāg* is likely pre-Arabic, i.e. Middle Persian. [258] It is also worth noting that both *dahāg* and *dasāg* do not appear to be attested elsewhere in Syriac literature. [259]

5.4.3.7 A Rare Word of Uncertain Etymology

In both his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion and diagrammatic illustration, Aḥob uses the noun ܩܒܝܬܐ. The former states, "But that exalted heaven (is) much greater than this, and (it is like) the shape of a _____, (which) surrounded all creation" (ܐܦ ܥܡ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܬܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܬ ܩܒܝܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܚܛܪ ܠܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ), [260] and the latter states, "This is the exalted heaven which (is) great and broad and circles the whole of creation and (creation) is within it, in the likeness of a _____, that is to say, a wheel" (ܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܬܐ ܕܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܘܪܚܝܒ ܘܡܚܘܪ ܠܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܒܓܘ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܘܬ ܩܒܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܓܠܓܠܐ). [261] There are a couple of ways that ܩܒܝܬܐ might be interpreted in these two contexts:

1) It may be related to the noun ܩܒܘܬܐ, which is a loanword from the Greek κιβώριον, meaning "canopy" or "baldachin." [262] The different spelling may be due to a dialectical difference:

SCRIPTS (2) Documentation," accessed 9 July 2021, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iran-vi2-documentation.

255 Aḥob's Psalm 58:5–6 scholion, *4–5*.

256 This noun is not listed in Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*.

257 For a further discussion of these names, see Aḥob's Psalm 58:5–6 scholion (in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia) and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, and J. R. Russell, "AŽDAHĀ," accessed 8 October 2020, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/azdaha-dragon-various-kinds?fbclid=IwAR0OZzOaDn03aBV7b4qqb1thj4rwYuVE4wVHm72bdcMd5aLet9WaFfGImz0.

258 Cf. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 132, n. 1.

259 Similar to the noun *dasāg*, the noun *dahāg* is not listed in Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*.

260 Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion, *22–25*.

261 See Appendix, Psalm 104:3 and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.16. Psalm 104:2–3.

262 Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 503.

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- the first "yod" (ܝ) was misread as a "nun" (ܢ)
- a "waw" (ܘ) was inserted after the nun as a placeholder for an added vowel "o" (= ܘ̇)
- the last yod was misread as a waw.

2) It may be related to the noun ܡܨܦܢܬܐ, meaning "canopy," which is a loanword from the Greek κωνώπιον, which itself is borrowed from the Latin *conopium*, meaning "a mosquito net, a bed provided with mosquito nets."[263] The Greek form of this noun is used in the LXX text of Jdt 10:21; 13:9, 15; 16:19; the Syriac form is only used in the Peshitta text of Jdt 10:21.[264]

The first of these two options is likely the better explanation for the origin of ܡܨܦܢܝܬܐ. Somewhat interestingly, both of the above options mean "canopy." Since ܡܨܦܢܝܬܐ is closely tied to ܡܨܦܢܐ, it seems reasonable that ܡܨܦܢܝܬܐ should likewise be defined as "canopy" in Aḥob's Psalm 104:2–3 scholion and diagrammatic illustration. Furthermore, since ܡܨܦܢܝܬܐ does not appear to be attested elsewhere in Syriac literature, Aḥob is the earliest (and only) witness to this rare word.

5.4.3.8 Miscellaneous References

Within his *Cause of the Psalms*, Aḥob makes four miscellaneous references, which require further analysis. The first one concerns his comparison of the Psalms to "an image or statue of a king" (ܨܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ), which has "great beauty [due to] ... the colors and complexion of the material by which it is adorned" (ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܨܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ... ܕܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܡܨܒܥ ܒܗ).[265] While it is not entirely clear what Aḥob is specifically referencing in these phrases, it is possible that he is alluding to the ancient practice of painted images and/or statues of Greco-Roman emperors and of the Shahs in Iranian territories being set up and dedicated in the cities of their respective empires.[266] In the Greek-speaking world, this practice is mentioned by several Greek writers. Two examples will be given:

263 J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Part II: K-Ω (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), 274 and P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed. rev. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015–2016), 449.

264 In the Peshitta text of Jdt 13:9, 15; 16:19, the noun ܚܠܬܐ is used, which also has the meaning of "canopy, mosquito-net." See Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 216. For the Syriac text and English translation of Jdt 10:21; 13:9, 15; 16:19, see J. P. M. van der Ploeg (ed.), *The Book of Judith, Daughter of Merari: Syriac Text with Translation and Footnotes* (Mōrān ʾEthʾō 3; Kottayam: SEERI, 1991), 21, *15*; 26, *14*; 27, *3*; 32, *22* (Syriac), 37, 44–45, 52 (English).

265 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *84*, *85* and *85–87*.

266 In the interpretation of Classical and Late Antique statuary, it has been realized that mar-

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– Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 1.18.6.: "The whole circumference of the precincts is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian …"[267]
– Ps.-Macarius Sermones 64 (collectio B), *Homily 4*, 30.5: "And in them [i.e. marketplaces] the persons of the emperors are depicted and the emperor's purple robe itself …"[268]

There are also a few references found in the Greek Fathers which may have indirectly influenced Aḥob's use of this phrase, though their parallels are admittedly less obvious. Two examples will be given:

– Athanasius, *Letter to Marcellinus on the Interpretation of the Psalms* 14: "[T]he Book of Psalms possesses somehow the perfect image for the soul's course of life. For as one who comes into the presence of a king assumes a certain attitude, both of posture and expression …"[269]
– Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Psalmum 50* (*Homilia 1*): "For I call the psalm an image … For just as the images have inscriptions, so also in the case of the Psalms. For indeed the images being set above have wooden banners below painted red,

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ble and bronze statues were painted. See Bente Kiilerich, "Towards a 'Polychrome History' of Greek and Roman Sculpture," *Journal of Art Historiography* 15 (2016): 15/BK1; Vinzenz Brinkmann and Raimund Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter: die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur* (Munich: Glyptothek, 2004) {English translation: Vinzenz Brinkmann, Renée Dreyfus, and Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann (eds.), *Gods in Color: Polychromy in the Ancient World* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2017)}; Roberta Panzanelli, Eike D. Schmidt, and Kenneth Lapatin (eds.), *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Research Institute, 2008). Along with Greek and Roman statues, Iranian statues, both Achaemenid and Sasanian, also seem to have been colored. See Roman Ghirshman, *Persian Art: The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.–A.D. 651.*, tr. by Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons (Arts of Mankind; New York: Golden Press, 1962); Jens Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor: Ein Beitrag zum Reliefdekor aus Stuck in sasanidischer und frühislamischer Zeit nach den Ausgrabungen von 1928/9 und 1931/2 in der sasanidischen Metropole Ktesiphon* (*Iraq*) *und unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stuckfunde* (Baghdader Forschungen 5; Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1982); Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Architecture et représentations dans l'Iran sassanide* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2014); Michael Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images: The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World* (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 4; Leiden: Brill, 2014).

267 Gregory R. Crane, "Perseus Digital Library: Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Paus. 1.18.6.," accessed 16 December 2020, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Paus.+1.18.6&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0160.

268 Heinz Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon: Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung 1 des Vaticanus Graecus 694* (*B*), vol. 1 (Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973), 71, *21–22*. This translation is my own.

269 Robert C. Gregg, *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (The Classics of Western Spirituality; New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 112.

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(indicating) who the king is, and of what (land he is from), and what war he successfully undertook …"[270]

It is unlikely that Aḥob is referencing any one of the above Greek writers in particular. Rather, he appears to be conflating two received traditions: 1) the testimony of eyewitnesses who saw images and/or statues of Greco-Roman emperors or of Sasanian or other rulers in varying cities of their respective empires, and 2) the concept of depicting the Psalms as an image of a king.

The second miscellaneous reference concerns Aḥob's phrase "without (the ability of complete) recitation of its [i.e. the Psalms'] words, a person would not be able to draw near to one of the ecclesiastical ranks or even be numbered among the students or among the fellow ministers of the Church" (ܚܠܦ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܣܕܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܐܘ ܠܡܢܝܢ ܒܝܢ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܐܘ ܒܝܢ ܫܘܬܦ̈ܝ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ).[271] The Church of the East Synod of 410 states, "He who is poor in knowledge and cannot recite the whole of the Psalms by heart cannot become even a sub-deacon."[272] In the School of Nisibis, the recitation of the Psalms was the medium by which students both learned to read and came to understand basic theological knowledge.[273] It is likely that a similar approach was used in the curriculum of the School of Seleucia, where Aḥob taught as an Exegete.[274] A comparable emphasis on learning and memorizing the Psalms developed concurrently in West Syriac contexts as well.[275] In short, Aḥob's understanding that the Psalms should be recited from memory stems from a longstanding tradition within the Syriac-speaking world.

The third miscellaneous reference concerns Aḥob's mentioning of "debauched songs" (ܙܡܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܣܛܝ̈ܬܐ),[276] i.e. secular songs that were popular in his time. While, in large part, these songs are poorly documented and little is known about them, there is one reference to a particular category of these

270 J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca: S. Joannes Chrysostomus* (PG 55; Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1862), cols. 565, *44–45*, *52*–566, *3*. This translation is my own.

271 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *131–135*.

272 David G. K. Taylor, "West Syrian Christology in the Sixth Century: The Psalm Commentary of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ," in Theresia Hainthaler, Dirk Ansorge, and Ansgar Wucherpfennig (eds.), *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der einen Kirche: Christologie—Kirchen des Ostens—Ökumenische Dialoge* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2019), 255.

273 Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 88.

274 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

275 Taylor, "West Syrian Christology in the Sixth Century," 254–255.

276 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *156–157*.

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songs, namely wedding songs, in the 6th century. According to *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-ʿIdtâ*, the East Syriac monastic leader, Rabban Bar ʿIdtâ (d. 611/621), sought to prevent the established custom of (purported) pagan singing at a local wedding. In its place, he insisted that they should sing the psalms.[277] However, the family of the groom ignored Bar ʿIdtâ's plea and, instead, sang their songs with gladness.[278] It is quite likely that Aḥob is referencing these types of songs (among others) in his phrase "debauched songs."

The fourth miscellaneous reference concerns Aḥob's phrase "when one of the teachers should make a composition before a *Sogita* or an *ʿOnita*, he takes material from them [i.e. the Psalms] and with phrases, which (are) from them, he determines (the structure of) his *ʿOnita*" (ܟܕ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܣܘܓܝܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܘܢܝܬܐ ܢܣܒ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܒܡܠܐ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܠܥܘܢܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ). [279] In the *Ḥudrā*, there are *ʿOnyata*[280] in all of the daily offices, and they always begin with brief quotations from the Psalms. These are printed in red in the Trichur *Ḥudrā*, and the rest of the *ʿOnyata* (i.e. the responses) are developments of the ideas found in these Psalm-versicles.[281] Interestingly, these *ʿOnyata* appear to have been a liturgical innovation in the first half of the 6th century,[282] and they made Dadishoʿ Qaṭraya (late 7th cen-

277 Aḥob makes a similar comparison in his *Cause of the Psalms*, *154–178*.

278 Ernest A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-ʿIdtâ* (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series 9–11; London: Luzac and Co., 1902), 271–273 and Sergey Minov, "Marriage and Sexuality in the Book of Steps: From Encratism to Orthodoxy," in Kristian S. Heal and Robert A. Kitchen (eds.), *Breaking the Mind: New Studies in the Syriac "Book of Steps"* (CUA Studies in Early Christianity; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 251.

279 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *169–174*.

280 *ʿOnyata* is the pluralized form of *ʿOnita* (ܥܘܢܝܬܐ).

281 For a discussion of the development and categories of *ʿOnyata*, see Juan Mateos, *Lelya-sapra: Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 156; Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1959), 375–377, 492–493. For an English translation of some of these *ʿOnyata* (with repeated citations of psalms), see Arthur John Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices: Translated from the Syriac, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, and an Appendix Containing the Lectionary and Glossary* (Publications of the Eastern Church Association 1; London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1894), 3–4 (First Anthem), 12–15 (The Martyrs' Anthem).

282 While the exact date of the origin of the *ʿOnyata* is unknown, Erica C. D. Hunter and J. F. Coakley suggest that the *ʿOnyata* and the chants associated with them must have originated at roughly the same time. Since they propose that John of Beth Rabban (d. ca. 566/567) was likely the earliest composer of *ʿOnyata* chants, this would imply that the production of the *ʿOnyata* began in the first half of the 6th century. See Erica C. D. Hunter

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tury) so angry that he wrote a diatribe against them and against the people who compose and use them.[283] If it is accepted that Aḥob is alluding to this liturgical innovation, his comment would function as one of the earliest known references to the production of *ʿOnyata*.

5.5 The Christology of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

The fragments that remain of Aḥob's Old Testament Christology are found in his *Cause of the Psalms*, Psalm 110 Prologue, and Psalm 110:3 scholia, and they state the following:

– *Cause of the Psalms*:

> And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) [i.e. of the psalms] also draw Christ himself, the redeemer of all, to their [i.e. blessed people's] aid (ܒܗܘܢ ܠܥܙܪܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܩܢܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܓܒܝܗ ܘܠܓܒ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ).[284]

> Therefore, the Fathers handed down (the tradition) that we should chant from him [i.e. David] more than all the books of the prophets, because of many reasons: one, because Christ (is) from his seed; and second, because he prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity and about (his) passion and about (his) martyrdom and about (his) resurrection and about (his) ascension (ܡܛܥܢ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܓܒ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܩܢܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܓܒ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ∴ ܘܡܛܥܢ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܒ

(ܟܬܒܝܢ ܒܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘܬ ܒܐܠܦܒܝܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܝܢ ܒܗ ܕܠܗ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܐܦ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܕܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܗܟܐ ܕܨܒܐ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡ ܡܪܝ ܐܘ ܡܪܝ ܐܦ ܗܟܐ ܒܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝܕܥܝ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܫܡܗܬܐ ܕܟܬܝܒܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܐܦ ܗܟܐ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܝ ܐܘ ܡܪܝ ܐܘ ܐܒܐ ܠܒܪܗ ܐܘ ܒܪܐ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܘ ܐܡܐ ܠܒܪܬܗ ܐܘ ܒܪܬܐ ܠܐܡܗ ܐܘ ܐܚ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܐܘ ܐܚܐ ܠܐܚܬܗ ܐܘ ܒܥܠ ܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܐܘ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܒܥܠܗ ܐܘ ܒܥܠ ܠܒܥܠܬܗ ܐܘ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܐܢܫ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܘ ܐܢܫ ܠܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܬܐ

– The Tetragrammaton simultaneously means the LORD and my Lord, indicating the essential divine unity of the Father and the Son.
– Christ is eternally begotten before all creatures and before all time.
– Christ's humanity functions as the high priesthood, because, as God, Christ is the object of worship by humanity, but, as the incarnate God, he is the high priest who offers praise and sacrifice to himself.
– Christ is descended from the line of David.
– Christ suffered, died, rose from the grave, ascended into heaven, and will judge (presumably the living and the dead).
– Christ draws near to the one who chants the words of the Psalms.

Aḥob's Old Testament Christology largely reflects a Theodorean (and, thereby, East Syriac) approach of interpreting only select psalms as Christological.[289] Theodore viewed Ps 2; 8; 45(44); 110(109) "as messianic prophecies which have been realized in the incarnate Christ."[290] Aḥob produced (at minimum) two scholia on Ps 110,[291] one of which includes Christological content and the other being wholly Christological (with polemical overtones) in nature.[292] Additionally, it is likely that his Psalm 45 Prologue scholion (in its originality) contained Christological content, though this portion has not been preserved.[293] This can be known, because Theodore explicitly states that Ps 45(44) is Christological, and, since Aḥob relies on Theodore for his Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, he would have undoubtedly been aware of Theodore's broader Ps 45(44) Prologue as well. Thus, while it cannot be verified, it is reasonable to suggest that Aḥob may have also originally produced scholia on Ps 2 and Ps 8, wherein he would have discussed (at least aspects of) their Christological contents. Furthermore, it is possible that Aḥob draws (at least parts of) the Christological content in his Psalm 110 Prologue and Psalm 110:3 scholia from Theodore's commentary on Ps 110(109). However, since Theodore's commentary on Ps 110(109) is no longer extant, this cannot be confirmed.

289 For a discussion of Theodore's Christology, see Francis A. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Rome: Analecta Gregoriana, 1956) and R. A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

290 Manlio Simonetti, "Theodore of Mopsuestia (CA. 350–428)," in Charles Kannengiesser (ed.), *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (The Bible in Ancient Christianity 1. Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2004), 815.

291 Namely, his Psalm 110 Prologue and Psalm 110:3 scholia.

292 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6. The Polemics of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

293 For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.9. Psalm 45 Prologue.

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Beyond Theodore, it is worth noting that Aḥob's Old Testament Christology contains several Christological statements:

– Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: "… he [i.e. David] prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity and about (his) passion and about (his) martyrdom[294] and about (his) resurrection and about (his) ascension" (ܕ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܚܫ ܘܥܠ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܣܟܢܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܣܠܩܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܥܠܝܬܗ).[295]

– Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion: "… he [i.e. David] also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word, and the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews, and concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands" (ܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܕ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܒܐ ܒܠܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܫܪܗ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܐܝܕܘܗܝ: ܣܠܘܬ).[296]

– Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion: "The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time) … He [i.e. David] called him [i.e. the Son] a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do)" (ܣܟܐ: ܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܡܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܘܫܥܐ … ܘܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܛܠܝܐ ܕܠܡܚܘܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܒܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ).[297]

The above Christological statements (at least in their present form) are general and untechnical, meaning they do not contain notable Christological terms, such as *kyana* (ܟܝܢܐ; nature), *qnoma* (ܩܢܘܡܐ; individual instance of a *kyana*), or *'ethbassar* (ܐܬܒܣܪ; he was enfleshed).[298] This suggests that Aḥob is not

294 At present, I am not aware of any other ancient writer who references Christ's death as a martyrdom.

295 Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *195–198*. For similar passages in the Nicaean Creed (Synod of 410), Synod of 486, and Synod of 544, see Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 22, *30*, 55, *2*, 97, *32* and Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," 133, 135.

296 Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, *2–7*. For a similar passage in the Nicaean Creed (Synod of 410), see Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 22, *25–26* and *28* and *29–31* and Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," 133.

297 Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, *1–4* and *7–10*. For a similar passage in the Synod of 576, see Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 113, *8* and *8* and *9* and *9–10* and *11–13* and Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," 135.

298 Sebastian Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East," in D. E. Afinogenov and Alexej V. Muravjev (eds.), *Traditions and Heritage of the Christian East: Proceedings of the International Conference* (Moscow: Indrik, 1996), 166–169, 173–174.

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intentionally referencing any particular Christological source (such as an earlier Synod) but, rather, is simply expressing the Christological beliefs of the East Syriac tradition.

5.6 The Polemics of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

Within Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, there are 6 polemics, which can be grouped into two categories: 1) anti-Jewish polemics and 2) other polemics. Concerning Aḥob's anti-Jewish polemics, there are four:

– Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: "For according to report, through the sweetness of his [i.e. David's] words, he awoke the drowsiness of the Hebrews at that time" (ܟܬܒ ܒܚܕܬ ܕܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܒ ܒܟ ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܐ ܕܒ ܒܥܕܢ ܗܘ ܕܒ ܟܬ

Aḥob asserts four things in the above anti-Jewish polemics:

- Jews were drowsy (i.e. spiritually asleep) prior to hearing the sweet sounds of David's psalms.
- Jews are mad to believe that Ps 45 speaks about Solomon and his Egyptian wife.[303]
- Some Jews went astray from God from the time of their creation as a people, and God knew this would occur.[304]
- Jews are stupid to believe that Ps 110 speaks about Abraham's servant going to betroth Rebecca.[305]

Aḥob relies on Theodore for the scathing language of his Psalm 45 Prologue anti-Jewish polemic,[306] namely, "in their madness" (ܒܫܡܗܝܢ). A comparable descriptor—"stupid" (ܛܦܫܐ)—is also used in his Psalm 110 Prologue anti-Jewish polemic, suggesting that he may be relying on Theodore (or a similar source) at this point as well. Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalm 58:4 anti-Jewish polemics imply, rather than outright state, forceful rhetoric, suggesting that, while he was critical of any Jewish counter interpretation of (what he believed to be) Christological psalms, he was less overtly condemning of Jews elsewhere in his Psalm-related writings. Nevertheless, even with these differences, the theological intentions of Aḥob's anti-Jewish polemics remain uniform in all four instances above.

Concerning Aḥob's other Old Testament polemics, there are two. The first is found in his *Cause of the Psalms*:

> For it [i.e. the book of Psalms] also teaches about the Creator, and it explains about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things). I am speaking, then, of (the ones) who say that this world is eternally existing and moves along without the bridles of a ruler (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܘܗܘ ܘܐܙܠ ܒܠܐ ܡܬܓ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ❖ ܐܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܥܠܡ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܥܠ ܡܬܓ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܕܪ ܒܗ ܠܪܒܩܐ

about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things)" (ܥܕ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܡܣܝܡ ܠܡܬܢܓܕ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܬܠ ܠܗ ܘܠܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ)—Aḥob establishes the focus of his polemic, which he directs against the ones who deny a Creator or Ruler over the world.

In the second part—which states, "I am speaking, then, of (the ones) who say that this world is eternally existing" (ܗܫܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ)—Aḥob speaks in the first person against those who posit that the world eternally exists. The substance of this part of his polemic is an attack on Proclus' (412–485) discussion of Aristotle's (384–322 B.C.) views on the eternality of the world,[308] as rejected by John Philoponus' (c. 490–c. 570) *On the Eternity of the World against Proclus*, which maintains that the world was created out of nothing.[309] Daniel King argues that Sergius of Resh'ayna's (d. 536) Syriac translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe* likely depends upon Philoponus' above work,[310] though the extent of this dependency has yet to be fully established.[311]

In the third part—which states, "and moves along without the bridles of a ruler" (ܘܐܙܠ ܗܘܦ ܒܠܓܡ ܕܡܠܟ)—Aḥob attacks those who deny providence over the world. The essence of this part of his polemic is a criticism of Epicurean philosophy for denying providence, which was applied to Aristotle and Proclus in John Philoponus' *On the Eternity of the World against Proclus*.[312] The general sense of this criticism is found throughout Sergius' trans-

308 Helen S. Lang and A. D. Marco (trans.), *Proclus: On the Eternity of the World* (*De Aeternitate Mundi*) (London: University of California Press, 2001).

309 Michael Share (trans.), *Philoponus: Against Proclus On the Eternity of the World 1–5, 6–8, 9–11*, 3 vols. (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2004–2005, 2010) and James Wilberding (trans.), *Philoponus: Against Proclus On the Eternity of the World 12–18* (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2006).

310 For a critical edition and French translation of this work, see Emiliano Fiori, "L'épitomé syriaque du Traité sur les causes du tout d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise attribué à Serge de Reš'aynā," *Le Muséon* 123:1–2 (2010): 127–158.

311 It is also possible that Sergius relies on Aeneas of Gaza's (d. c. 518) *Theophrastus*. See Daniel King, "Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe* in a Syriac Adaptation," *Le Muséon* 123:1–2 (2010): 175–178. For a translation of this work, see John Dillon and Donald Russell (trans.), *Aeneas of Gaza: Theophrastus*, with Sebastian Gertz (trans.), *Zacharias of Mytilene: Ammonius* (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012).

312 See, for instance, Dillon and Russell, *Theophrastus*, with Gertz, *Ammonius*, 27–32 and Share, *Philoponus 1–5*, 39–42, 68 (esp. n. 285). For a further discussion, see Ken Parry, "Fate, Free Choice, and Divine Providence from the Neoplatonists to John of Damascus," in Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (eds.), *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 346–349.

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lation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe*, as well as in an earlier Syriac version of Gregory of Nazianzus' (330–390) *Oration* 27.10 (*CPG* 3010).[313] Either work, or possibly a combination of both, is/are the likely source(s) by which Aḥob became aware of and summarized the broad nature of these earlier debates.[314]

Aḥob's second other Old Testament polemic is found in his Psalm 110:3 scholion:

> The Son is from everlasting and from eternity … and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time) … He [i.e. David] called him [i.e. the Son] a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do) (ܟ ܡܠܠ ܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܟ ܒܪ ܐܦ ܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܟ ܥܠܡ … ܡܢ ܟ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ

within Christianity, which subtly seeks to situate Christ as subordinate to the Father, thereby stripping him of his eternality (i.e. his divinity).

Overall, Aḥob's Old Testament polemics are characterized by their brevity. This appears to be both original and intentional, in that Aḥob sought to primarily produce exegetical—rather than polemical—works.

5.7 The Eschatology of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

Aḥob's Eschatological scholion is the only extant fragment of his eschatology. It states:

> Some (people) hand down that the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered (to us), will continue 1596 years, (which is) the number (of years) that the offerings of Jerusalem and of the Law continued ... It is also handed down that this world will be thirteen indictions from its beginning until its end: the first ten before the coming of Christ, and the (final) three from his coming until the end (ܥܒܕܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܘܕܒܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܢܬܡ̈ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܘܬ̈ܫܥ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܬ̈ܝܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܘܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܐܬܬ̈ܝܪ̈ܘ ... ܘܡܫܬ̈ܡܥ ܒܥ̈ܠܡ ܕܗܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܬ̈ܫܥ ܣ̈ܝܢ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܗ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ ܬ̈ܪܝܨ̈ ܣ̈ܝܢ̈ܐ ܩ̈ܕܡ ܡܬܝܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܬ̈ܠܬ̈ ܡ̈ܢ ܡܬܝܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ).[316]

The extant bits of Aḥob's eschatology are structured in two parts in the above scholion:

- Christ established a non-sacrificial system that will continue for the same number of years as the Old Testament sacrificial system, namely 1596 years.
- The world will last for the length of thirteen indictions: the first ten occurred before Christ's Incarnation/Resurrection,[317] and the final three will take place between his Incarnation/Resurrection and Second Coming.

The entirety of Aḥob's Eschatological scholion is presented as the earlier eschatological views of two non-specific sources—"Some (people)" (ܐܡܪܝܢ) and "It is also handed down" (ܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܫܬ̈ܡܥ), though both could refer to the same

316 Aḥob's Eschatological scholion, *1–10*.

317 Carlson notes that "It is also not clear whether the periods of 1596 years were thought to transition at the birth of Christ or at his resurrection." See Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

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source. It is possible that this/these source(s) stem from the school tradition, of which Aḥob was a part.[318] However, this cannot be verified.

In its present form, two of the timespans mentioned in this Aḥob scholion have uncertain meanings: 1) "will continue 1596 years" (ܥܕܝ ... ܫܢܝܐ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ) and 2) "thirteen indictions" (ܐܝܢܕܝܩܛܘܢ ܬܪܝܣܥܣܪ). The time span of "1596 years" stretches from the Exodus to Christ's Incarnation/Resurrection. However, regardless of how one adds up the relevant Old Testament chronological data, the number of 1596 cannot be reached.[319] The time span of "thirteen indictions" extends from Creation to Christ's Second Coming. While the usual meaning of "indiction" is the Greek 15-year calendrical cycle, as well as each year in this cycle,[320] the use of "thirteen indictions" in Aḥob's scholion clearly spans a much larger period of time than (the maximum) 195 years (= 13×15) implied by this phrase. It also does not conform to the general belief that the world would last for 7,000 years (i.e. *septimana mundi*), which was popular among Jewish, Greek, and Syriac writers.[321] For instance, if the 3 post-Christ indictions = 1596 years, then 1 indiction = 532 years; 10 indictions (pre-Christ) = 5320 years; and the full 13 indictions = 6916 years, which is close to (but does not equal) 7000 years. In short, the specifics of these eschatological timespans—particularly their division into 13, rather than 7, indictions—do not follow any other known system of dating used by Aḥob's near contemporaries.[322]

Given these observations, it is likely that Shbadnaya altered aspects of this scholion, wherein (at minimum) he modified one (though possibly both) of Aḥob's eschatological timespans to conform to an applicable system of dating for his 15th-century setting.[323] Thus, concerning Aḥob, since one (or both) of

318 For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

319 See, for instance, Jeremy Hughes, *Secrets of the Times: Myth and History in Biblical Chronology* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 66; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 267–272, 275–278.

320 Meimaris, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia*, 32.

321 Witold Witakowski, "The Idea of Septimana Mundi and the Millenarian Typology of the Creation Week in Syriac Tradition," in René Lavenant (ed.), *v Symposium Syriacum, 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 236; Roma: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 93–109.

322 See Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque*, 257–287 and David G. K. Taylor, "The Disputation between a Muslim and a Monk of Bēt Ḥālē: Syriac Text and Annotated English Translation," in Sidney Harrison Griffith and Sven Grebenstein (eds.), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt: Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 209, n. 89.

323 For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.2. Eschatological Scholion.

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the original timespans in his Eschatological scholion are in doubt, it is impossible to adequately explain his eschatological predictions—i.e. his symmetry with the Old Testament sacrificial system ("1596 years") and his numerology ("thirteen indictions")[324]—in their present form.

5.8 The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

While Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works utilize certain features that are common within the East Syriac exegetical tradition—such as a reliance upon Theodore of Mopsuestia and an emphasis on Christ's divinity and humanity, they also contain a number of distinctive aspects, each of which will be highlighted in the following summary:

- A disagreement with and/or modification of Theodore's exegesis in select scholia
- A typological approach, which borders on allegory, in his Genesis 15:9–10 scholion
- A reference to one part of the East Syriac liturgy, which is not mentioned by any other early commentator on the East Syriac liturgy
- One of the earliest instances of architectural *theoria* in his Psalm 104:2–3 scholion
- The earliest extant reference to the "level roof" of the altar baldachin in the context of a cosmological comparison
- Medical and philosophical phraseology stemming from Sergius' Syriac translations of the Galenic corpus and Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe*, likely within a half century of Sergius' death
- Two language of Qatar references (which are the earliest known references to this language), the former in his Psalm 45:9 scholion and the latter in Bar Bahlul's ܟܬܒܐ entry
- An incorrect Coptic reference in his Genesis 50:10 scholion
- Two Middle Persian references, the former in his ܟܬܒܐ scholion and the latter in his Psalm 58:5–6 scholion, the second of which is unattested elsewhere in Syriac literature
- The earliest (and only known) usages of the rare word ܡܕܝܢܚܐ
- A reference to painted images and/or statues of Greco-Roman emperors and of the Shahs in Iranian territories being set up and dedicated in the cities of their respective empires

324 Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

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- An acknowledgement of the existence of secular Syriac songs that were popular in the 6th century
- One of the earliest known references to the liturgical innovation of producing *ʿOnyata*
- A Christology which is devoid of any notable technical Christological terms (at least in its present form)
- Intentionally brief polemics
- An unusual eschatology, in that it does not follow any known system of dating used by Jewish, Greek, or Syriac writers

In short, Aḥob's extant Old Testament exegetical works are a treasure trove of rare and/or unusual references to multiple earlier and/or contemporary sources. They emphasize a particular Old Testament interpretation that often deviates from Theodore's exegesis, and this distinctive feature (among others) is likely a primary reason for their survival and use in the development of the East Syriac exegetical tradition.

5.9 Conclusion

With the exception of his *Cause of the Psalms*, the original form of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works was likely scholia, rather than a continuous commentary. Indicators within his extant Old Testament scholia, as well as the later scribal tradition that preserved them, suggest that the original number of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia was extensive, and many of these scholia were available until, at least, the late 19th century. In their originality, Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works likely functioned as either his classroom lecture notes or as a classroom instructional manual, either of which he would have produced when he taught in the School of Seleucia. His extant Old Testament scholia conform to the text of the OTP. With the exception of two fragments borrowed from Theodore's *Commentary on Genesis* (i.e. Gen 15:9–10), all of Aḥob's Greek sources are found in his Psalm-related writings. These include seven fragments from Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* (i.e. Ps 5:4; 39(38):6; 40(39):8; 45(44) Prologue), eleven fragments from Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, and one fragment from the longer form of the Syriac *Physiologus*. Aḥob's fragments from Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* and the Syriac *Physiologus* are contained within his scholia on the first 50 psalms, and it is unclear if this was intentional on Aḥob's part or if it is an accident of later scribal selection. His Syriac sources draw on the East Syriac liturgy, received Antiochene cosmological views, and contemporary church architecture. Aḥob's other sources comprise the largest part of his sources. He relies on several Jewish sources, including

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Hebrew readings, which are drawn from earlier Greek and/or Syriac writers, as well as from one or more contemporary Jewish informants. Aḥob's Greek readings are likely drawn from Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms*, though this can only be inferred from circumstantial evidence surrounding Isho'dad's use of Theodorean Greek readings. His medical phraseology is probably derived from Sergius of Resh'ayna's Syriac translations of the Galenic corpus. Aḥob relies on three non-Syriac languages in order to clarify the meaning of difficult Syriac words in the Peshitta. These include two references to the language of Qatar, one incorrect citation of Coptic, and two references to Middle Persian. He is also the only known witness to the rare word ܥܘܢܝܬܐ. Among other reasons, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is important for its references to 1) painted images and/or statues of Greco-Roman emperors and of the Shahs in Iranian territories, 2) the practice of reciting the Psalms from memory within the Syriac-speaking world, 3) the existence of contemporary secular songs, and 4) the liturgical innovation of producing *'Onyata*. Aḥob's Christology conforms to the East Syriac tradition. While his brief polemics primarily attack Jews and their interpretation of select psalms, Aḥob also condemns 1) earlier Greek arguments for both the eternality of the world and a denial of providence and 2) Arian (or related) teachings. His eschatology does not conform to any known system of dating in the ancient world. A detailed examination of Aḥob's extant Old Testament exegetical works reveals that they contain a number of distinctive aspects, one primary one being their willingness to disagree with and/or modify Theodore's exegesis.

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General Conclusion

This study has presented the first comprehensive examination of Aḥob of Qatar (also known as Aḥob Qaṭraya) and his Old Testament exegetical works. In order to understand Aḥob's life, his surviving biographical data was explored in Chapter 1. Whereas previously there were varied debates surrounding the original spelling of his name, his dates, his place within the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, and his works, this chapter established several facts about Aḥob's surviving biographical data:

- He was probably born in Qatar and later moved to Seleucia.
- It is possible (though unprovable) that he was a descendant of Narsai (399–502).
- The most authentic rendering of his original name is "Aḥob" (ܐܚܘܒ), and this Aḥob should be considered the same person as "Ayyūb the Exegete," (ايوب المفسر), who is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Seert*.
- Due to his reference to the production of *ʿOnyata*, he cannot be dated before John of Beth Rabban (d. ca. 566/567), who is the earliest known composer of *ʿOnyata* chants. Similarly, he cannot be dated after Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600), whose *Cause of the Psalms* borrows five fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. The only firm date for Aḥob is ca. 580/581 or 582/583, as mentioned and/or implied in the *Chronicle of Seert*, the later Arabic witnesses, and Elijah of Nisibis' *Chronography*. Thus, while Aḥob can be broadly situated in the second half of the 6th century, it would be more accurate to place him in the late 6th century.
- He is the earliest known writer associated with the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, which flourished from the late 6th century to the late 7th century.
- He produced several Old and New Testament exegetical works, largely in the form of scholia.

Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition were examined in Chapter 2, and an annotated edition and English translation of these writings were also presented. As a result, several facts were established about the extent of Aḥob's extant Old Testament exegetical works:

- Eight East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions preserve his Old Testament exegetical works.
- His extant Old Testament exegetical works consist of 35 known Old Testament scholia (on, at least, 8 Old Testament books) and one complete work, *Cause of the Psalms*.
- All disputed scholia, which have been credited to Aḥob (among others), were either not produced by him or were heavily modified by subsequent East Syriac writers, making the original Aḥobian core impossible to isolate.

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– There are two scholia attributed to Aḥob that are clearly spurious.

The use of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works by the East Syriac exegetical tradition was the focus of Chapters 3 and 4, and several facts were established about Aḥob's literary afterlife:

– Nathniel of Shirzor borrowed and slightly modified five fragments of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* either during Aḥob's lifetime or soon after his death.
– The *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century) preserves the earliest accessible form of Aḥob's 2 extant Genesis scholia. It is possible that one or both of these Aḥob scholia have been slightly modified.
– Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* (792/793) uses Aḥob's Genesis 15:9–10 scholion (possibly via the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*) and part of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, both of which are modified to varying degrees.
– The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?) preserves the presumed original form of all of Aḥob's extant Psalm-related writings in several late 19th-century manuscripts. These are presented as a prefaced document (i.e. his *Cause of the Psalms*) and 18 scholia, which are in the form of marginal notes and insertions into the main text, though the latter are almost always offset by some kind of scribal marker(s). Roughly 5½ of these Aḥob Psalms scholia (i.e. Psalm 39:2; Psalm 45 Prologue; Psalm 48:4; Psalm 58:4; Psalm 58:5–6; vv. 17–18 of Psalm 105:17–19) are unattested elsewhere.
– Isho'dad of Merv (fl. ca. 850) relies on 16 Aḥob scholia and Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. 2 Aḥob scholia are found in his *Commentary on Genesis*, 1 Aḥob scholion is in his *Commentary on 1 Samuel*, and 13 Aḥob scholia are preserved in his *Commentary on Psalms*, which also utilizes Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. With the exception of Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion, Isho'dad always modifies Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works to varying degrees.
– The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century) uses 5 Aḥob scholia. 2 Aḥob scholia are preserved in the *AC on Genesis*, 1 Aḥob scholion is found in the *AC on Numbers*, 1 Aḥob scholion is presented in the *AC on 1 Samuel*, and 1 Aḥob scholion is preserved in the *AC on Bar Sira*. 2 of these Aḥob scholia (i.e. Genesis 15:9–10 and Genesis 50:10) have been modified to varying degrees. Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion is preserved as a marginal scholion and, while it may have been longer in its original form, its present contents appear unaltered. Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholia are unattested elsewhere, the latter of which is presented as a marginal scholion. The *AC's* usage of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion is the only instance of an Aḥob Old Testament scholion being developed in a tertiary manner (i.e. beginning with its usage in the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, which is developed by Isho'dad, which is then further developed by the *AC*).

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– Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th-early 20th centuries) preserves 11 Aḥob scholia in eleven separate entries. These Aḥob scholia are noticeably less sophisticated than his other extant Old Testament exegetical works. With the exception of Aḥob's comment on ܫܡܝܐ, all of these Aḥob scholia are unattested elsewhere in their attributed form.
– Isaac Shbadnaya (fl. 1439/1440) uses 2 scholia that are attributed solely to Aḥob in his prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. These 2 Aḥob scholia discuss a Jewish custom and two Christian eschatological traditions that have been passed down from earlier sources. Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem* preserves the only extant form of these 2 Aḥob scholia, both of which he likely modifies to varying degrees.

The distinctiveness of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works was explored in Chapter 5, and several facts were established about their original form in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, the most noteworthy of which are the following:[1]

– With the exception of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, they were likely produced as scholia, rather than as continuous commentaries.
– There are only a small number of scholia preserved from the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works—possibly the most unusual scholia (in whole or in part).
– They display a willingness by Aḥob to modify and/or disagree with Theodore of Mopsuestia's exegesis.
– They rely, in part, on (an) independent Jewish source(s), likely (a) Jewish informant(s).
– Beyond Syriac, they contain 5 references to three non-biblical languages: 2 language of Qatar references, 1 incorrect Coptic reference, and 2 Middle Persian references.

As indicated above, Chapter 5 also revealed that Aḥob relies on a number of Greek, Syriac, and other sources beyond Theodore, which he often develops with his own distinctive insights. When he does borrow from Theodore, he never copies him verbatim. Rather, Aḥob alters Theodore's exegesis to varying degrees, even to the point of critiquing him. The East Syriac exegetical tradition's use and development of (at least some of) Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works suggests that its writers and manuscript traditions also looked favorably on evolving forms of interaction with Theodore's exegesis.

1 For a more detailed list of distinctive aspects in Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, see Chapter 5, Section 5.8. The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

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If one considers the distinctive aspects of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works (i.e. the focus of Chapter 5), in conjunction with the discussions presented in Chapters 1–4, they suggest the following additional conclusions about Aḥob:

- He is the only established scholiast from the 6th century in the East Syriac exegetical tradition.
- He is a voice from a provincial school (i.e. the School of Seleucia), rather than a main center, like the School of Nisibis.
- His office as Exegete in the School of Seleucia likely impacted the biblical texts he selected for commentary, because he clearly wanted his students to understand how to interpret various difficult Peshitta words and phrases, especially where there are differences between the Peshitta, Hebrew, and Greek.
- His influence on the East Syriac exegetical tradition began in the late 6th century (either during his own lifetime or just after his death) and stretched to the late 19th century, a span of roughly 1,300 years.
- He is the earliest known East Syriac exegete to use other languages to explain difficult Peshitta words and phrases, which establishes a sense of exegetical authority.
- His probable use of (a) Jewish informant(s) for access to his Hebrew readings (which are consistently correct) and for, at least, select parts of the Jewish custom discussed in his Calendrical scholion likely reflects actual discussions with Jews across confessional boundaries in the late 6th century.
- His use of the language of Qatar (which he is the earliest known writer to cite) and Persian suggests that he was multilingual and interacted with people in the larger Iranian world who also knew these languages.
- He did not speak or read Coptic, even though he cites this language.
- He likely drew the original version of the Psalm 104 diagrammatic illustration, which lies behind the variations preserved in several late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts.
- He does not follow Theodorean (and more broadly Antiochene) exegetical approaches without thought, i.e. he does not assume that a pragmatic interpretation is the best and/or only manner by which to understand a given Peshitta word or phrase.

While many facts can now be confidently known about Aḥob and his Old Testament exegetical works, this study has not presented a detailed discussion of his extant New Testament scholia, which are preserved in Syriac, Arabic, Gəʿəz, and Amharic manuscript traditions.[2] Nevertheless, based on the few Aḥob scholia

2 Cowley produced an English translation of Aḥob's scholia on John and the Pauline epistles in

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on John and 1–2 Corinthians that have been translated,[3] it seems unlikely that something would be discovered in his other (as-of-yet unstudied) New Testament scholia that would contradict what has been established in this study concerning his Old Testament exegetical works.

Overall, Aḥob's exegetical and theological impact on the East Syriac exegetical tradition was more extensive than previous scholarship has considered. His Old Testament exegetical works and varied sources reveal that he is one of "the heirs of Theodore," i.e. a distinctive voice within the East Syriac exegetical tradition and not a card-carrying follower of Theodore's exegesis. Aḥob's willingness to propose a non-standard Theodorean explanation for a difficult Peshitta word or phrase represents one example of, what Becker has called, "the dynamic reception of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the sixth century,"[4] and this independent thinking (among other things) likely helped to secure Aḥob's place as an authoritative figure within the East Syriac exegetical tradition for centuries to come.

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the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition and footnoted the parallel texts in the English translation of Ishoʿdad's *Commentary on John*. See Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 329–338. It is unclear if there are further extant Aḥob New (or Old) Testament scholia in the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition which have yet to be identified. It is also unclear if the Amharic manuscript tradition preserves the same Aḥob scholia as the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition or if any additional Aḥob scholia have been added to it. Along with the Amharic manuscript tradition, the Arabic manuscript tradition of Aḥob's New (and possibly Old) Testament scholia—on which the Gəʿəz and Amharic manuscript traditions rely and which are preserved exclusively in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's biblical commentaries—remains an essentially unexplored area.

3 Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 333–338.

4 Adam H. Becker, "The Dynamic Reception of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the Sixth Century: Greek, Syriac, and Latin." in Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 29.

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APPENDIX

An Edition of the Introduction and Select Parts of Thirteen Psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*

The following is an edition of select parts of Ps 5; 29; 31; 39–40; 42; 45; 48; 58; 68; 104–105; 110 from the *DGC* (first half of the 9th century?).[1] The introduction to the *DGC* will also be given. These passages are provided so that the context for Aḥob's extant Psalms scholia can be examined in this key source, and their contribution to the main text of the *DGC* can be assessed.[2] The manuscripts used for this edition, including their sigla and dates of production, are the following:[3]

L	British Library, Or. 9354	1895
M	Mingana Syr. 58	1895
S	Strasbourg, Syr. 4121	1898
C	Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318	1890s
V	Vandenhoff Exemplar	1891

1 For a further discussion of the date of the *DGC*, see Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

2 Select verses in this edition also have scattered marginalia—unrelated to Aḥob's Psalms scholia—attached to them. These non-Aḥobian marginalia are not presented in this edition.

3 For an overview of the particulars of these four manuscripts and one edition, see Wim Baars et al, "Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since 1899" (unpublished handlist; Leiden: Peshitta Institute, 1979), 3; Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbroke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* 1: *Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933), cols. 157–160; Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (*nos 356–435 entrés depuis 1911*), *de la Bibliothèque Méjanes d'Aix-en-Provence, de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon et de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg: catalogue* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 208–210; J. F. Coakley, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library and College Libraries Acquired since 1901* (Ely, Cambridgeshire: Jericho Press, 2018), 141–143; Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 3–8 (Latin).

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The base manuscript is L.[4] However, when L is in doubt, M has been followed. Concerning the rubricated words and phrases, the text of L has also been followed.[5] The various words and phrases, which are underlined in V to show its similarities to Sachau 215 and Barhebraeus' (1225/6–1286) *Commentary on Psalms*—the latter of which were accessed via Paul A. de Lagarde's (ed.), *Praetermissorum libri duo* (1879)—are not reflected in the edited text below.[6] Similarly, V's usage of a small, superscript line over select words (such as ܕܥܒܕܟ)—which shows that it has expanded these particular words from their abbreviated spelling, as was preserved in its, now lost, exemplar[7]—has not been footnoted. Furthermore, while V marks the Peshitta words and phrases in its commentary with superscript and subscript quotation marks, these quotation marks are not footnoted in the following edition, though they are reflected in the English translation of these *DGC* verses in Chapter 3, Section 3.4., by way of italicized words.[8] Where discrepancies exist between some or all of the above *DGC* manuscripts, earlier extant *DGC* manuscripts—namely, Paris, BnF Syr. 367 (*olim* Seert 29) (1252) [= P] and/or Paris, BnF Syr. 351 (16th or 17th century) [= P^2]—have been utilized to ascertain the most likely original reading.

Since Aḥob's Psalms scholia have been edited (and presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6.), these will not be given again in what follows. Rather, their placement in the individual *DGC* manuscripts is indicated via footnotes.[9]

4 While V is the oldest, extant manuscript preserving Aḥob's Psalm-related writings, its Introduction and selected parts of psalms often preserve abbreviated forms and/or noticeable misspellings of words/phrases, all of which render it as the least reliable of the manuscripts used for this edition.

5 V marks its rubricated words by placing them within parentheses, i.e. ( ). These parentheses are not footnoted.

6 For a further discussion, see Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 15–16 (Latin).

7 Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 15 (Latin).

8 V also marks the beginning of each verse with a superscript verse number. Since these verse numbers are likely not original to V's exemplar (and also due to the fact that the following edition includes Peshitta verse numbering), these superscript verse numbers are not footnoted.

9 If part or all of a given Aḥob scholion is incorrectly attached to a *DGC* verse, which is not presented in this edition, its description is placed within parenthesis.

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Introduction[10]

ܟܬܒܗ [12]ܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܟܠ ܡܢܝܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܡܪ[1] ܒܝ ܠܫ [11]ܕܐܒ
ܒܢܝ ❖[14]ܐܠܗܐ ܫܡ ܒܝܬ[1] [13]ܝܗܘܕܐ ❖ܘܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ
ܫ [16]ܫܡ ܡܝܬ ܒܡ[1] [15]ܐܡܪ ❖ܩܕܫ ܫܡܫ ܐܚܪܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܡܝܬ
[18]ܒܢܝܗ ܩܕܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ[1] [17]ܟܬܒܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܝܐ[1]
ܠܐ ܫܡ ܒܢ ܐܒ.ܡܝܬ ܒܢ ܪܝܫ [19]ܩܕܫ ܒܢ ܩܕ ܫ
ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫ ;ܐܒ.ܡܠܟܐ ܒܢܝܗ ܒܟ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫ | ܒܠ M f. 18r
ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܐ.ܐܠ ܒܢܝܗ ܠܐ ܒܢܐ :[20]ܒܢ ܫܝ[1] ܐܒ.ܒܢܝܗ ܒܠܐ
ܩܕܫ ❖[22]ܪܝܫ ܩܕܫ ܠܟܐ [21]ܠ ܒܢ ܫܟܐ[1].ܟܬܒ ܒ

Psalm 5

[23]ܫܡ

[25].ܩܘܕ ܟܠܒ ܒ ܠܐ ܩܕܫ ܩܕܫ [24]ܠܠ ܩܕ ܠ

[26][4] ܪܝܫ .ܫܒܝܩ ܠ ܫܒ ׃ ܠ | ܠܠ ܪܝܫ ܩܕ S f. 38r
.ܒܠܝܐ ܒ ܟܫ.ܩܕܘ ܪܝ [28]ܠ [27]ܫܒ

10 This Introduction to the *DGC* is based on L, f. 17v, *14–25*; M, ff. 17v, *21*–18r, *4*; S, f. 32r, *5–12*; C, f. 20v, *1–9*; V, p. 19, *5–16* (Syriac). For an English translation of the Introduction to the *DGC* based solely on M, see Leonhard, "Ps 119 and 139–147 in East-Syrian Commentaries," 183.

11 LMS] black CV

12 LMSC] ܪܝܫܐ ܡܢܝܢ V

13 LMV] ܝܗܘܕܐ C, ܝܗܘܕܐ S

14 LMCV] red S

15 LMC] ܡܝܬ V, red S

16 LMCV] red S

17 LMSC] ܒܢܝܗ ܟܬܒܐ V

18 LMC] red S: ܟܬܒܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܝܐ ܫܡܫܐ V

19 MSCV] s. sey L

20 LMS] ܒܢܝ C: ܒܢܝ V

21 LMSC] ܒܢܫܐ V

22 LMSV] add ❖ ܡܟܬܒܟܬ ܒܢܝܗ ܫܐܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܪܒܐ ܒܢܝܗ ܕ ܟܬܒ C

23 LMS] om C. The following parts of Ps 5 in the *DGC* are based on L, f. 20v, *16–17*, *21–24*; M, f. 20v, *12–13*, *17–20*; S, ff. 37r, *17–18*, *21*–38r, *2*; C, ff. 23v, *26–27*, 24r, *4–5*.

24 LMS*C] ܠܠ err S[1]

25 LMS] add ❖ (ܪܝܫܬ ܡ ❖ ܠܠ ܩܕܫ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܢܐ ܠ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ) C

26 Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion is preserved as a marginal gloss in LMSC. In LMC it is situated near Ps 5:4. (In S, it is incorrectly placed near Ps 5:5–6.) In LMSC, Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion is not marked with any reference marker, either in the scholion or in the text of the *DGC*.

27 LMS] (ܪܝܫ) ܪܝܫ C

28 LM[1]SC] add ܫܒ dit M*

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Psalm 29

[29]ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܕܘܝܕ

ܗܒܘ ܠܡܪ ܒܢܝ ܐܠ[30]ܝܡ ܗܒܘ ܠܡܪ ܟܒܘܕ ܘܥܙ : ܗܒܘ ܠܡܪ ܟܒܘܕ ܫܡܗ ܣܓܕܘ ܠܡܪ ܒܗܬ ܩܕܫ[31]ܐ
ܗܘ ܡܙܡܪ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܫܒܥ ܩܠ ܡܝ ܥܠ ܡܝ ܪܒ ܩܠ ܡܪ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܝܢ ܡܝ ܝܡ[32]ܐ ܩܠ ܡܪ ܒܟܚ ܘܗܕܪ ܩܠ ܡܪ ܫܒܪ ܐܪܙܐ ܕܠܒܢܘܢ
[33]ܘܡܪܩܕ ܐܬ ܠܒܢܘܢ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܟܥܓܠ ܪܡ ܘܩܠ ܡܪ ܚܨܒ ܠܗܒܬ ܫܠܗܒܬ ܐܫ ܩܠ ܡܪ ܝܥܪ ܡܕܒܪ ܩܕܫ ܐܬ ܡܕܒܪ ܩܕ
ܫ ܝܗ ܩܠ ܡܪ ܚܝܠ ܝܗ ܠܝܗ ܘܠ ܩܠ ܡܪ ܝܒܪܟ ܐܬ ܥܡܗ ܒܫܠܡ ܬ

Psalm 31

[42]ܠܕܘܝܕ ܡܙܡܘܪ

ܒܟ ܝܗ ܠܝ ܚܣܝܬ ܠܥܘ ܠܡ ܐܒܘܫ

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29 LMS] om C. The following parts of Ps 29 in the *DGC* are based on L, ff. 44r, *13–16*, 44v, *27*–45r, *7*; M, ff. 44r, *17–20*, 45r, *3–11*; S, ff. 83r, *15–17*, 85r, *3–9*; C, ff. 43v, *16–18*, 44r, *21–27*.

30 LMSC[1]] add ܠܡ dit C*

31 LMC] ܠܚܙ S

32 LMC] om S

33 LMS] ܘܡܪܩܕ C

34 LMS] s. sey C. Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion is preserved as a marginal gloss in LMSC, near ܐܠܬܪ. Within the text of the *DGC*, L marks ܐܠܬܪ with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word, and MSC mark it with a red dot above it. The equivalent word in this Aḥob scholion is not marked in LMSC.

35 MSC] ܐܠܠܡ err L

36 LMSC[1]] ܐܬܝܐ ܐܠܝܥܒܕ ܐܢ C*

37 MSC] om L

38 LMC] c. sey S

39 LS] s. sey MC

40 LMS] ܐܠܠ C

41 LMS] ܒܗ C

42 LMS] om C. The following parts of Ps 31 in the *DGC* are based on L, ff. 45v, *27–28*, 46r, *11–15*; M, f. 46r, *6–7*, *18–22*; S, f. 87r, *2–3*, *11–14*; C, f. 45r, *15*, *24–26*.

[9] L f. 45r

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[6] ܗܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܣܘܪ.[44]ܡܢ ܐܝܟ.[43]ܡܢ ܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ❖ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ❖

Psalm 39

[45]ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܕܘܝܕ[1]

ܐܡ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܠܒܝ ܐܟܠ ܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܫܬܩ: ܐܫܬܩ ܠܝ ܒܐܦ ܡܢ ܛܒ̈ܐ ❖ ܐܦ ܒܫܬܩܬ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܛܒ̈ܐ [46]ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܒܝܠܝ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܩ.

[2] ܢܫܬܟ: ܐܠܐ ܐܫܬ ܐܠ [47]ܫܬܩ ܐܦ ܐܡ ܫܬܩ ܒܠܒ ܫܬܩ: ܒܠܒ: ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ

C f. 54v
M f. 57r
S f. 108r
L f. 57r
M f. 57v

[4] ܣܡ ܠܕ[49]ܚܕ[50]، ܡܠܝ ܒܝܢܝܡ ܥܡܝܪ ܚܕܐ ܥܝܢ ܒܫܡ ܫܒܥܐ ܒܚܫܒܢ[51]
ܒܚܫܒܢ ܒܚܫܒܢ[52]. ܫܒܥ ܒܫ ܫܒ[53] | ܒܫ ܫܒ[54]
[5] ܒܫ ܫܒ[55]، ܒܫ ܫܒ ܠܚܕ ܠܐ ܣܡ ܥܝܢ.[56] | ܒܫ ܫܒ[57]
ܒܫ ܫܒ[58] : ܒܫ ܫܒ ܠܚܕ ܒܫ[59] : ܒܫ ܫܒ ܒܫ : ܒܫ ܫܒ
ܒܫ ܫܒ ܠܐ ܒܫ ܫܒ ܒܫ ܫܒ ܒܫ ܫܒ

ܠܗ ܀ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܒܐ ܀ ܗܠܝ ܣܝ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܗܟܝܡ
ܕܝܠܗ ܕܫܘܠܛ ܥܠ ܟܠ. ܒܝܕܗ ܡܚܒܐ ܡܚܒܐ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܫܠ
ܠܟܢ ܐܦ ܕܫܘܠܛ ܐܢ. ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܟܠ ܒܫܘܠܛܢ ܐܦ ܀ ܕܝܠܗ
ܕܐܒܐ ܕܐܒܐ[63] ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ.

Psalm 40

[64]ܡܙܡܘܪ

ܕܫܘܠ ܐܬܐ ܒܝܕܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܘܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠ ܐܠ
ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܫܡܥ ܥܠ ❖ ❖

[8][65] ܐܠܗ ܒܝܕ ܗܘ. ܗܘܝ ܗܘ ܒܘܒ ܐܠ ܒܘܒ ܐܠ ܒܝܕ ܐܠ
ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܠ ܒܝܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܐܠ ܒܘܒ ܐܠ ܒܘܒ ,ܐܠ ܒܘܒ
ܥܠ ܗܘ[66] ܠܡܫܠ ܒܝܕ ܐܠ ܒܝܕ. ܗܘ ܐ ܒܝܕ [10]
ܐ[67] ܐ ܐ ܐ ,ܐ ܐ ܐ

ܗܘ ܕ ܡܫܝܚ ܗܝ ܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ [72][2]
ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ : ܘ ܐܦ[74] ܕ ܐܬܐ[73] ܗܘ ܕ ܡܫܝܚ : ܠܐ ܫܡܗ ܡܫܝܚ ܗܝ ܐܠܐ : ܗܝ
ܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ[75] ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘ ܒܥܠܡ
L f. 60v ܕ ܐܬܐ ܚܝ ܗܘ | [77].ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܕ ܗܘܐ[76] ܐܠܗܐ ܘ ܐܠܗܗ ܕ ܐܒܐ
ܠܢ ܕ[78] ܗܘ ܕ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕ ܒܐ ܘ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕ ܐܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ
ܠܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ.

Psalm 45

[79]ܩܕܡ ܡܢܨܚ ܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ

ܡܙܡܘܪ ܕ ܕܘܝܕ[80] ܒܪ ܝܫܝ. ܒܝ ܫܦܪ ܠܝ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܛܒܬܐ
L f. 63v .ܠܡܠܟܐ[81] ܠܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܥܠ ܠܫܢܝ : ܡܙܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕ ܐܢ| ܐܬܡܗܪ ܐ

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72 In S, Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion is the only text written on f. 112v. It is situated perpendicular to lines 13–21 of the facing folio (f. 113r), and, in this space, encompasses 8 short lines. S does not mark any particular word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, to show a physical link between the two texts.

73 C] c. sey LMS

74 In C, Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion follows ܐܬܐ, is written perpendicular to lines 7–26 on f. 57r, and, in this space, encompasses 5 lines, the last of which is shorter than the others. C does not mark any particular word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, to show a physical link between the two texts.

75 LMC] om ܐ init S

76 LMC] ܐܠܗ S

77 In L, Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion follows .ܐܠܗ and is contained within red frames on f. 60r, *19–26*. L does not mark any particular word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, to show a physical link between the two texts. (In M, Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion is incorrectly placed after ܒܥܠܡܐ in v. 3 and is contained within red frames on f. 60v, *2–11*. M does not mark any particular word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, to show a physical link between the two texts.)

78 LM[1]SC] add ܕܢ dit M*

79 LMSV] om C. The following parts of Ps 45 in the *DGC* are based on L, ff. 63r, *27*–63v, *6*, 64r, *11–23*; M, ff. 63v, *4–11*, 64r, *16–27*; S, ff. 119r, *8–13*, 120r, *9–18*; C, ff. 59v, *9–15*, 60r, *13–22*; V, pp. 34, *13–18*, 35, *1–3*, 37, *1–13* (Syriac). (In V, Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion is incorrectly footnoted in connection with the name of Ps 45, i.e. ܩܕܡ ܡܢܨܚ ܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ. Aside from the footnote number, V does not mark this scholion or its corresponding text in the *DGC* with any reference marker.)

80 LMCV] ܡܙܡܘܪ S

81 LMSV] ܠܡܠܟܐ C

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[2]ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ[83] ܒܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ[84] ܒܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ[85] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ. ܒܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ

Psalm 48

[96]ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ

ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܒܪܟܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܒܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܫܐ ܕܫܡ ܠܐ ܡܟܒܫ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܫ.[97]

[4][98] ܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܫܡܥ ܒܢܝ ܒܢܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܝܐ[100] ܒܫܬܬܐ[99] ܡܠܐ : ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܫ.ܒܫܬܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ[101] ܒܫܬܐ : ܡܫܟܚܬ ܠܚܫܒܐ ܚܫܒܐ

Psalm 58

[103]ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܕܘܝܕ

ܠܡ[104] ܡܫܚܝܬ ܠܐ[1] ܡܠܐ ܕܐܡ ܕ ܐܡ ܕܝܐܒܒܬ ܒ ܐܒܒ ܕܒܝ
S f. 145r ܕܐ ܠܐ ❖ ܕܒܩܫ ܠܡܐ ܐܒܠܝ ❖ ܕܝܫ ܠܡ | ܕܫܒ
❖ ܒܐܠܒܕ

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96 LMS] om C. The following parts of Ps 48 in the *DGC* are based on L, f. 67r, *4–6*, *15–18*; M, f. 67r, *5–7*, *15–17*; S, ff. 125r, *18–19*, 126r, *5–7*; C, ff. 63v, *18–21*, 64r, *2–4*.

97 LMS] add .(ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܫ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡ ܐܠܐ ܡܫܡܥ ܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ ܕܒܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܫ.ܕܝܫ ܠܡ ܐܡ) C

98 Aḥob's Psalm 48:4 scholion is preserved as a marginal gloss in S, near Ps 48:4. Within the text of the *DGC*, S does not mark this (or any other) word in this verse, and this Aḥob scholion is equally unmarked.

99 LM[1]SC] om homarc M*

100 LM] ܒܫܬܬܐ SC

101 Aḥob's Psalm 48:4 scholion is preserved as a marginal gloss in LM, near ܒܫܬܐ. Within the text of the *DGC*, LM mark ܒܫܬܐ with a red dot over it. Neither the equivalent nor any other word in this Aḥob scholion is marked in LM. C also marks ܒܫܬܐ with a red dot over it; however, it does not preserve Aḥob's Psalm 48:4 scholion in connection with this marked word.

102 LMC] ܒܝܫ S. For a discussion of the scribal confusion over the exact spelling of this word, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.11. Psalm 48:4. The underlying Arabic noun is likely صخرة.

103 LMS] om C. The following parts of Ps 58 in the *DGC* are based on L, ff. 77v, *20–23*, 78r, *6–78v*, *4*; M, ff. 77r, *8–11*, *22–77v*, *16*; S, ff. 144r, *20–145r*, *1*, *9–146r*, *4*; C, ff. 72r, *14–16*, *25–72v*, *14*.

104 LMC] s. sey S

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[4] ܕܐܡܪ ܒܬܗܠܝܡ ܣܘ ܒ[105]ܗ ܕܒܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܕ[106]ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕ[107]ܐܡܪ ܒܬܗܠܝܡ ܣܘ ܒ[108]ܗ ܐܝܟ ܕ
ܐܡܪ ܒܬܗܠܝܡ ܣܘ ܒ[109]ܗ ܐܝܟ ܕ : ܒܬܗܠܝܡ ܒܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕ. ܐܝܟ ܕ C f. 72v
ܐܡܪ ܒ[110]ܗ ܐܝܟ ܕ ܐܡܪ ܒܬܗܠܝܡ ܒܐܝܟ ܕ | ܐܡܪ ܒ M f. 77v
ܐܝܟ ܕ ܐܡܪ. ܒܡܒܠܝ ܒܠܡܕ ܐܝܟ ܕ ܒ[111]ܐ ܐܝܟ ܕ ܐܝܟ ܕ
ܐܝܟ ܕ ܐܡܪ ܒ[112]ܐ ܐܝܟ ܕ[113]ܐܝܟ ܕ ܐ. ܐ ܐ ܐ

L f. 78v ܠܗ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܠܗ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܐ[119]ܕܝ | ܒܡܙ
ܐ ܕ ∴ ܐܡܪ ܕܐ ܐ ܕܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ∴ ܐ
ܐ ∴ ∴ ∴

[16] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܡܙܡܘܪ ܗܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ ܒܬܪ ܕܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ. ܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ[131] ܗܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ. ܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ ܒܬܪ ܕܟܬܒ[132] ܕܟܬܒ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ: [17] ܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ[133] ܕܟܬܒ. ܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ[134] ܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ. ܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ. ܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܠ.

L f. 128r ܕܡܪܝ[143] ܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܫܦܝ | ܕܡܫܬܐ[142] ܡܫܠܡ[141] ܕܡܪܝ
[144] ܡܫܠ

M f. 126v ܡܫܠ ܐܢ ܫܠܡ | [145] ܫܠܝܛ ܡܫܠ ܒ ܠܡ ܡܫ [3]

L f. 128v ܡܫܠ ܕܡܫܠ ܒܡ ܠܡ ܕܡ ܫܠ | [146] ܡܫ ܡ ܡܫ ܡ ܡܫ

S f. 236r ܡܫ | ܡ ܡ ܡ [147] ܐ ܡ ܡ ܡ

ܗܕܐ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܘܝܕ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܒܚܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܢܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ

[17][163] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܐܚܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܫܘܡ ܒܪ ܡܕܡ ܒܗ ܒܗ ܕܐܝ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܝ ܐܦ

ܒܢ ܒܟ ܫܡܥܬ ܐܠܐ ܟܬܒܐ. ܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܫܡܥܬ ܐܝܟ [171][3]
ܒܥܐ | [172]ܐܒܪܗܡ ܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠ ܬܫܡܥ ܐ ܐ ܐ

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Vat. Syr. 502	1926	ff. 20v–21v, 52v, 99r, 143r
Mingana Syr. 553	1930	ff. 1v–18r, 31v, 62r, 89v
Anonymous Commentary on the Difficult Words in the Pentateuch:		
Alqosh 34 (*olim* 22)	1887	—
Anonymous New Testament Commentary:		
Seert 27	12th century	—
Basil of Caesarea, Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1:		
British Library, Add. 14,543	6th century	ff. 141r–144r

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Ḥasan bar Bahlul, *Lexicon*:

Sachau 212–213 (= B)	1883	f. 50r
Paris, BnF Syr. 318 (= P)	1886	f. 35r

Ḥenanishoʿ bar Seroshway, *Questions on the Economy* (incorrect attribution):

Mingana Syr. 556	Ca. 1680	f. 101v
Vat. Syr. 150	1709	ff. 107r–175r
Vat. Syr. 504	1885	f. 78r

Isaac Shbadnaya, Prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*:

Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1998	1558	ff. 114v, 122r, 123r–123v, 209r, 211r, 213v–214v
Harvard, Syr. 152	17th century	—
Berlin Orient. fol. 1201 (Syriac 85)	1725	—
Oxford, Syr. c. 9	1726	—
Seert 121	1800	—
Catholic University of America Hyvernat Syr. 7	1889	—
British Library, Or. 9358	1895	—
Mingana Syr. 57	1895	—
Oxford, Syr. c. 13	1904	—
Vat. Syr. 592	1918	—

Ishoʿ bar Nun, *Selected Questions*:

Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2017	1706	ff. 26v–46r, 52v, 53v

Ishoʿdad of Merv, *Commentary on Psalms*:

10 of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem (= J)	1380	—
British Library, Or. 4524 (= L)	17th–18th century	—

Jacob of Edessa, *Scholia*:

Vat. Syr. 103	9th or 10th century	ff. 39r, 110v, 128r
British Library, Add. 12,144	1081	—

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Kitāb al-Maǧdal (*The Book of the Tower*):		
Neofiti 54 (*olim* 41)	18th century	—
Kitāb Asfār al-asrār (*The Book of Mysteries*):		
Vat. Ar. 110	14th century	—
Masora, Syriac:		
Damascus Syr. 7/16	1004	f. 57r
Mosul 41	1014	f. 51v
Nathniel of Shirzor, *Cause of the Psalms* and/or the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*:		
Paris, BnF Syr. 367 (*olim* Seert 29)	1252	ff. 75v, 77r, 93r, 94r–94v, 96v–97r, 101v, 102v, 107r, 123r, 136r–136v, 196r, 200v, 213v
Paris, BnF Syr. 351	16th or 17th century	ff. 11v, 25r–25v, 88r–88v, 93r, 107v
Urmia 217	1682/1683	—
Alqosh 35 (*olim* 28)	1710/1893	—
Mosul 20	1875	—
Urmia 151	Probably 1880–1890	—
Sachau 215	1882	—
Alqosh 36 (*olim* 20)	1884	—
Alqosh *olim* 21	1893	—
British Library, Or. 9354	1895	ff. 1v–3v, 11r, 12r, 15v–16r, 17v, 20v, 44r–46r, 56r–57v, 58v, 60r–60v, 63r–64r, 67r, 77v–78r, 85v, 86v, 87v–88r, 107r, 108r, 117r, 118v–119r, 127v–129r, 131r–132r, 140r–140v, 146v, 149v–150r, 162v
Mingana Syr. 58	1895	ff. 1v–3v, 11r, 12r, 15v–16v, 17v–18r, 20v, 44r, 45r, 46r, 56v–58v, 60r–60v, 63v–64r, 67r, 77r–77v, 84v, 85v–87r, 105r–106r, 115r, 116v–117r, 125v–126v, 129r–130r, 138r–139r, 145r, 148r–148v, 161r
Strasbourg Syr. 4121	1898	ff. 1r–5r, 28r–29r, 32r, 37r–38r, 83r, 85r, 87r, 106v–111r, 112v–113r, 118v–120r, 125r–126r,

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		144r–146r, 159r–160r, 162r–163r, 198r–199r, 215r, 218r–219r, 235r–236r, 237v–238r, 239r–240r, 256r–257r, 269r, 274r–275r, 298r
Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318	1890s	ff. 6v–14r, 17v, 18v–19r, 20v, 23v–24r, 43v–44r, 45r, 54r–55v, 57r, 59v–60r, 63v–64r, 72r–72v, 78v–80v, 96v–97v, 105r, 106r–106v, 113v, 115r, 116r, 123r–123v, 131r, 133v
Manuscript of Octčanes	Date unknown	—

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In *The Heirs of Theodore* Seth M. Stadel examines Aḥob of Qatar, a late 6th-century East Syriac biblical commentator, and his surviving Old Testament exegetical works. He further investigates what can be deduced of Aḥob's influence on the later East Syriac exegetical tradition, and he details the originality of Aḥob's exegesis, especially in comparison with earlier and contemporary Greek and Syriac sources. By presenting the first annotated edition, English translation, and study of Aḥob's extant Old Testament exegetical works, Stadel is able to show that Aḥob represents a distinct voice within the East Syriac exegetical tradition.

Seth M. Stadel (D.Phil. 2022, University of Oxford) is a Research Associate on the ERC-funded DoSSE project in the School of History, Politics and International Relations at the University of Leicester. He has published several studies on the late antique and early medieval Syriac exegetical tradition and the reception of the Psalms in Christian theology.

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